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THE MAROONS.

CHAPTER THE TENTH.

MEANWHILE what had become of the three Malagassays, whom we left in the stocks? Fortunate was it for them, that their tormentors did not, after picketing them, fasten them in the stocks by the head, as well as by the feet and the hands. It so happened that one of them—the Antacime—after fifteen hours' suffering, made an attempt to relieve himself by twisting one of his feet out of the socket in which it was fixed. To his amazement he succeeded.

"I got one foot free!" he exclaimed.

"Not possible!" ejaculated the others.

"Possible, true as we all here," he responded. "Dere him is, and dere—dere—dere de oder, nearly."

"Oh, broder, dat good. Gor'Amighty help you," said the Sacalave.

"It's bery hard," resumed the Antacime, "and it hurt. One foot bigger 'an de oder, 'pears: and de iron bery tight. I 'pose I must break de ankle: he won't come."

"Courage, broder, courage, and don't try so hard: go quietly," whispered his companions.

The poor fellow strained and twisted his limb for some time; now gently, now with more or less force, but he could not succeed in liberating it.

"If dey catch me wid one leg in and de oder out," he exclaimed, "dey kill me quite. Oh, oh!" and he renewed his painful efforts with a courage almost superhuman.

"I tink him coming now," he gasped, presently. "Yes! him coming. Dere! dere he is: and now, broders, I see what I can do

for you. On'y rest a bit first. Leg bery sore."

His companions, now greatly excited by the prospect of their approaching deliverance, could not refrain from expressing their joy. This, however, they did in a more quiet manner than might have been expected; for they feared to arouse the people of the house, or to attract the attention of the few passers-by, on their way to and from the buildings. But the Antacime, having rested himself, proceeded to devise the means of setting his companions free. He adopted the simplest and most effectual.

The stocks were kept together at one end by a heavy padlock, which fastened the upper and the lower sockets. This he hammered with a great stone, until he broke the iron hasp. The rest was easy, for it was only to lift up the upper side of the stocks, and the captives were free. But their difficulties were not yet come to an end. They had to get out of the dungeon, and clear away from the plantation, before they could consider themselves in safety, and it was only too evident to them that the people in the great house had not yet retired. So they waited patiently.

At length all was quiet. The three slaves arose, and soon, by uniting their strength, succeeded in forcing the doors. Then they stood still awhile, to breathe the fresh air, and to consult what they should next do. They agreed to go in search of provisions and such tools as they might be able to find, and to take away a wooden pitcher for water, and a couple of calabashes.

After searching cautiously about, for some time, they found only some maize and some sugar-canes, and with this they departed.

Their evasion took place about an hour after the negro-hunter had arrived with the

Capre;* but the fugitives were already far away when their flight was discovered, nor could any traces of the road they had taken be found.

Next morning the news was bruited at Saint-Suzanne, that a small boat, that had been moored to a certain part of the beach, had disappeared in the night. This circumstance, indicating that some slaves had escaped and taken to the sea, in the hope of reaching the coast of Madagascar or of Africa, caused great excitement in the district, and several skiffs were despatched in chase. Inquiries were also set on foot, with a view to ascertain under what circumstances the escape had taken place; for it was feared it might be the commencement of a plot, having extensive ramifications in the island, and the object of which should be the evasion of the slaves generally. Nothing of the sort, however, was discovered, not even the owner of the fugitives. The Capre was careful not to say a word of the project of his comrades, of which it will be remembered he had a perfect knowledge; and as the majority of the slaveowners had slaves who had turned Maroons, it was impossible to say, in the present instance, whose had escaped in this way.

A week or ten days elapsed. M. Zézé Delinpotant had made his declaration before the police authorities, and the fugitives were almost forgotten, when, one morning, a frail bark was seen violently tossed in the surf off the *Pointe des Galets* at St. Paul's. Presently three individuals, who were on board, cast themselves into the breakers, and were thrown on shore, all bruised and nearly dead. As they were blacks they were forthwith arrested and interrogated. They replied evasively, and being taken to be negroes who had escaped from the Mauritius, were placed in the hands of the *Procureur du Roi*. On being conducted to St. Denis, however, they confessed who they were; and thus they again fell into the hands of their masters.

The boat they had taken was not the one which the Amboilame intended they should have. He had been unable to find it, so they were compelled to take the first they came to. It was small, unseaworthy, and had no deck, the sea making a clean breach over them, and they were in imminent danger from one minute to the other of being swamped. By baling out, however, they kept the boat afloat, and succeeded in passing through the surf and gaining the deep sea. It was calm: they rowed with

might and main, made rapid way, and soon lost sight of the land of their slavery. They hoped to get to Madagascar, and thought they were going in that direction; instead of which they were only rowing round a portion of the island from which they were so anxious to flee. They had not food enough to last them many days, and hunger and thirst soon warned them that they must either soon make land, or abandon their enterprise, unless they preferred death. To add to their tribulation, a storm arose. Weak as they were, harassed with fatigue and anxiety, tossed about at the mercy of wind and wave, they allowed their boat to drift. Great was their satisfaction on perceiving that the current was carrying them towards the land. They shouted with joy, for they thought they were off the Madagascar coast.

The unfortunates! It was the land of their captivity!

AMERICAN ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENTS.

GREAT ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

AN Anti-slavery Meeting, convened by the *Abolition Society* of New York, assembled at Syracuse, State of New York, on the 26th of June last. The morning sitting, which was called to order by the Hon. Gerrit Smith, was devoted chiefly to preliminary arrangements. The nominating Committee reported the following as the permanent officers of the Convention: *President*, James M'Cune Smith. *Vice-Presidents*, C. C. Foote, M. S. M'Farlan, C. G. Case. *Secretaries*, G. W. Clark, L. C. Matlack. *Committee on Business*, Wm. Goodell, C. C. Foote, M. S. M'Farlan, J. W. North, Mr Burdick, Gerrit Smith, Frederick Douglass. *Finance Committee*, Gerrit Smith, Lewis Tappan, S. M'Farlan, J. W. Loguen, John Thomas.

The Business Committee reported a series of resolutions, and a declaration of sentiments.

The afternoon and evening sittings were devoted to the reception of the report of the Finance Committee, and to the consideration of the Declaration of Principles. A lengthened debate took place on several points connected with the terms of the Declaration. We can only make room for the following:

MR. PRYNE said—I suppose the people have come here to learn, and adopt the best practical plan for abolishing Slavery. All former political movements have failed, because they have not even proposed to abolish, but only to limit and localize Slavery. This platform before us corrects this fault. It strikes at the very foundation everywhere. To confine Slavery to the old States on condition that we cease our agitation, would render it permanent. Heretofore, the South has made up all the issues with political anti-slavery men. These issues have been

* In answer to several inquiries as to the meaning of Capre, we beg to say that the term is employed to designate the child of a mulatto and a negro. In the West Indies such a child is called a *sambo*.—[Ed. A.S.E.]

upon the limbs and incidents of Slavery, rather than upon its life. And until we dare aim at the annihilation of Slavery, and avow that aim, we shall never succeed in abolishing it.

CAPTAIN STUART, from Canada, said—We ought not to repudiate the government because it does a great wrong. It is also a source of great blessing.

MR. PURDICK—The Constitution may be good and the government bad. It is the administration of government, and not the Constitution, which is wrong. The government is oppressive in its administration. Laws designed to secure the pursuit of happiness are prostrated to the pursuit of negroes. The administration wrests the law to do this wrong. The character of the government appears from its work. When it does evil, it is to be set down as evil.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS—I came here to ascertain what is the true ground upon which to fight Slavery. I have long thought that the original idea of this movement was being lost. I feared there would cease to be an abolition political organization. There is no party but the small liberty party that has not lost this idea. Even the moral suasion organizations have lost this first idea. The movement, in essential idea, has died and risen again repeatedly. We are here to commence a revival of Abolition, on higher ground. Free soil is good, as far as it goes, but it must be led higher, and not lower. We are told the Constitution is to be abolished. This is Mr. Garrison's position. And the Garrisonians are zealous, energetic, and give more money for their purposes than we do, who have the truth. They shew their faith by their works. But if the Union were dissolved, and the Constitution abolished, Slavery would still exist. Free soil and Garrisonianism only aim at freeing the North from responsibility. We should then stand in the same relation to American as to Brazilian Slavery. The Garrisonian argument is, that the Government has been pro-slavery always, and therefore the Constitution must be pro-slavery. This is not true. The government is the people. They really do govern. The government said Jerry should be a slave. The people of Syracuse said Jerry should not go back to Slavery. The people governed in that case, and we want them to govern thus everywhere. Bring the people up to this point everywhere, and the constitutional question will be settled. Give the people anti-slavery hearts, and the heads will come right, and their vote will come right.

S. J. MAY—I am not a member of this meeting. I dissent from some of your sentiments. I expected Beriah Green to wind up with "no union with slaveholders." The people are not the government. The supreme law makes the representatives the government. The officers are the government. Nothing but revolution will save us. It is our hands which sustain Slavery. I sympathize with you, but moral suasion is your only true course. If you form a party it will weaken you. You will defeat Anti-slavery men by your division. Revolution, I fear, is the only road to the death of Slavery.

GERRIT SMITH—With me government is divine. Civil, family, and church government, are parts of the divine government. The ruler should

be a body as the preacher. To the State God says: "Here are my powers: wield them for good." Men who wield powers for Slavery are the powers of the pit. These are the servants of the devil. These are usurpers and conspirators: government is not to rule in the fear of the people, but of God.

LEWIS TAPPAN, FREDERICK DOUGLASS, and S. J. MAY continued the discussion.

The following Declaration was ultimately adopted without a dissentient:

DECLARATION.

"The Convention of 'Radical Political Abolitionists,' assembled in Syracuse, in the State of New York, on the 26th, 27th, and 28th days of June, A.D. 1855, improve the opportunity to declare to the nation and the world their convictions concerning American Slavery, its relations to the American people and government, the responsibilities resting upon them, the principles by which they should be governed, and the measures they are morally bound to employ for the deliverance of their country, and the liberation of the enslaved.

"We believe slaveholding to be an unsurpassed crime, and we hold it to be the sacred duty of civil government to *suppress* crime. We conceive slaveholding to be the annihilation of human rights, and we hold it to be the grand end and mission of civil government to *protect* human rights. Nay, more—we hold that the government which annihilates instead of protecting human rights, should be known, not as civil government, but only as a conspiracy and a usurpation.

"We accordingly declare and maintain that there can be no legitimate civil government, rightfully claiming support and allegiance as such, that is not authorised, nay, that is not morally and politically bound to prohibit and to suppress slaveholding. The responsibilities of civil government in this country rest, primarily, upon the people, by whom their own forms of government are instituted, and who, at the ballot-box, provide for their administration in conformity with their wishes.

"If the federal government, by the Constitution, is not competent to this task, then it is incompetent to a civil government at all, or to secure the objects set forth in the Constitution itself. It cannot 'form a more perfect union,' nor 'establish justice,' nor 'ensure domestic tranquillity,' nor 'provide for the common defence,' nor 'promote the general welfare,' nor 'secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.'

"But we deny that our fathers ever attempted such an absurdity as that of instituting a civil government without power to protect the natural rights of its subjects; a government 'to establish justice' and 'secure the blessings of liberty,' without powers adequate to the suppression of slaveholding. We challenge the proof, that when they declared it self-evident that all men are created equal, they intended a portion of them to be slaves; that when they were publicly proclaiming inalienable rights, they were secretly plotting unparalleled wrongs; that when they 'appealed to the Supreme Judge for the recti-

tude of their intentions,' they were acting the part of base hypocrites; that when they professed to 'establish justice,' they bound themselves to support the grossest injustice; that under pretence of securing the blessings of liberty, they entered into a compact for the support of Slavery! Their language in the Constitution indicates nothing of the kind, but the opposite; and there is no proof their intentions were in conflict with their language. We deem it, therefore, right and proper to construe the Constitution as it *reads*, and not as the slaveholders pretend that it *means*. And by such a construction the Constitution requires the Federal Government to abolish Slavery in all the States.

"More than all this, we maintain that if it could be proved (as it cannot be) that our fathers mentally intended to protect Slavery, while their words, in the Constitution, required its suppression, we should still hold ourselves at liberty and under obligations to use the Constitution according to its *righteous language*, and against their *unrighteous intentions*. If men use language for dishonest purposes, and with dishonest intentions, it becomes the duty of honest men who may succeed them, and to whom their written instruments are committed, to defeat such dishonest purposes and intentions if they can, by interpreting the language according to its natural and just meaning. Every enlightened and upright jurist will thus decide; and the decision commits to the Federal Government a Constitution that binds it to suppress Slavery.

"We deny that the Constitution could have contained any valid recognition of Slavery, because there was never any legalized Slavery in this country, to be the subject of such recognition. We deny that Slavery *can be* legalized by any conceivable process whatever. And, aside from this, we affirm that, according to the rules and maxims, even of slaveholding jurisprudence, and of the Supreme Court of the United States, there *never has been* any legalized Slavery in this country. On this point we are ready to produce abundant testimony from eminent slaveholding jurists and statesmen themselves. And the whole history of Slavery and of the slave-trade proves the statement to be truthful.

"We affirm that the general structure of the Federal Constitution, as well as its particular provisions, preclude the legal existence of Slavery, forbid the States to maintain it, provide for the liberation of the enslaved, and authorise and require, at the hands of the Federal Government, its suppression. The powers conferred on the Federal Government by the Constitution are amply adequate to this object. And we deny that the exercise of powers, for the suppression of Slavery, would be any infringement of constitutional State rights, or any of the 'reserved rights' of the States or of the people.

"With these views of the Constitution of our country, we feel ourselves prepared for an aggressive—not a merely defensive—contest with the slave-power. We take our position accordingly, and ask our fellow-citizens to do the same. We sue for no needless amendments of the Constitution, requiring the concurrence of two-thirds of the States. Properly construed, it already gives us all we need. We attempt no dissolution

of the Union. The Constitution makes no provision for it, and nothing short of a revolution could effectuate it. We *consent* to no dissolution that would leave the slave in his chains. We demand the constitutional deliverance of the slave, and of the whole country, North and South; a deliverance by the peaceful ballot-box, and within the power of the non-slaveholders of the United States. We seek not to assure, console, or to delude ourselves or others with mere idle efforts to prevent the further *extension* of Slavery, while admitting its constitutional right to continue *where it exists*. We will consent to no compromise with the deceiver, that keeps no faith with its dupes—no compromise with pollution and crime. We yield not one inch, for one moment, nor on any conditions, to the control of the demon over *any* portion of our country, or over a single being over whom floats our national flag. We are *Americans*, knowing no North, no South, no slaves, and no slave States. We are not only Americans, but men, and demand that, irrespective of race or complexion, all men shall be free.

"Believing, as we firmly do, that the time to maintain, to fortify, and to render effectual this high and commanding ground has fully come, and that the occupancy of any lower ground would invite further aggressions and ensure final defeat, we resolutely take our stand on the platform already defined. Our political *activities* must meet the demands of our *convictions*. We can consent to nothing less.

"With our ideas of the nature of civil government, of our constitutional powers, of our corresponding responsibilities as republican citizens,—with our views of the common brotherhood of the human race and of the equal rights of fellow-countrymen in bonds, the position we have here taken rises high above any mere calculations of expedients, of availabilities, or of exigencies, however pressing and portentous. The ground we occupy is to us *holy* ground; the ground of the *true* and of the *right*; the ground marked out by the instincts of our moral natures, by our relations to our fellow-men, by our allegiance to the common *Father of all*, by the divine law of loving our neighbour as ourselves. We feel that our prayers to Heaven for the security of our liberties—of the non-slaveholding States, or of any portion of our free territory—would be impious and offensive to a just God, the impartial parent of all men, if in the act of offering such prayers, and of putting forth our own efforts to that end, we should consent to leave any portion of our fellow-countrymen in bondage, entitled as they are, by the organic and supreme law of the land, to the same freedom and protection with ourselves.

"The moral government of God over the nations, as revealed in the Holy Scriptures, and as illustrated in the page of universal history, forbids us to cherish any expectation of securing permanently *our own* liberties, or the liberties of *any portion* of the nation to which we belong by any process short of securing the liberties of each and all.

"The foundation principles of civil government and of civil law confirm us in the same belief. The past and passing history of our own country,

and of the pending struggle between despotism and freedom, testifies to the same truth, and assures us that there is no rational ground to expect the deliverance of our country, but by a strict adherence to the great principles upon which our measures are founded. To those principles and measures we cling, as to the sheet anchor of American liberty; and we call on all the friends of humanity, of the slave, of free institutions, of pure religion, and of our common country, to come up to the rescue, and cast in their lot with us, in this great struggle. 'Sink or swim, survive or perish,' we are resolved to go forward. Our panoply is the *truth*. Our confidence is in Him who is the refuge of the oppressed, and in whose hands are the destinies of all."

During the sitting a good-looking Mulatto man, almost white, and about twenty years old, was introduced as having escaped from Slavery on the previous Friday. He came from Fredericksburg, Maryland. It was remarked, that the railroad was attaining an expedition that made it a sure and safe route. The poor fellow had been but *four days* in coming from Maryland. Several gentlemen expressed a desire to know how the fugitive escaped, but Frederick Douglass put a quietus, by suggesting, that if this information were made public, the slaveholders would be able to take precautions against other such glad events.

The second day's morning sitting was devoted to the report of the Financial Committee—proposing a plan of raising money to carry out the peaceful abolition of Slavery, the money to be expended in aid of presses and lectures to promote the object.

MR. WILLIAMS of New York wanted the work commenced on the spot: if not well begun it would amount to nothing. So thought Gerrit Smith and others.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS stated that the Garrison party raised annually 35,000 dols. for similar purposes.

GERRIT SMITH said, that in this day men may be anti-slavery without a cent of cost; but to be Abolitionists was another thing, and money in this last instance was a great auxiliary—the motive power.

MR. GOODELL stated that there were six or eight papers published in New York and other States, holding the sentiments of the Convention as to the constitutionality of Slavery, and he estimated that at least 7000 persons assented to this position.

MR. TAPPAN thought the financial plan proposed better than any he had ever known, and that, if carried out, it would do more for the anti-slavery cause than had as yet been accomplished. The financial plan was adopted, including a section to appropriate 100 dols. to William Goodell, for his labours in preparing documents for the Convention. The plan authorises the calling of a National Abolition Convention by the Central Aboli-

tion Board, at such time and place as they may select.

GERRIT SMITH proposed the following-named gentlemen to constitute the Central Abolition Board: Arthur Tappan, William Goodell, James M'Cune Smith, Simeon S. Jocelyn, William E. Whiting, Edward V. Clarke, Lewis Tappan, George Whipple, and Samuel Wild, all of whom are residents of New-York City and immediate vicinity. The Convention concurred in the motion to constitute these gentlemen such Board. William E. Whiting to be the Treasurer of the Board.

MR. GOODELL introduced the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, As the sense of this Convention, that the National Abolition Convention, to be held in pursuance of the action of this Convention, would do well to consider the question of organizing a permanent National Abolition Society, covering the entire field of moral, political, ecclesiastical action; and, if thought advisable, to proceed to the organizing of such a Society.

Pursuant to suggestion, papers were circulated to secure contributions for the ensuing year, in accordance with the financial plan. It was announced that Gerrit Smith had contributed 250 dols. per month for the ensuing year.

At the afternoon sitting Mr. Goodell read the Address of the Convention to the people of the country. It was an elaborate statement of principles, with the reasons for entertaining them. The several points upon which the Declaration of sentiments was founded were discussed at great length. The Address occupied forty closely-printed pages. It was ordered to be printed for general circulation.

At the morning session of the third day, letters were read from Arthur Tappan, John Pierpont, and others, sympathizers with the objects of the Convention. One letter was signed by twenty citizens of Bradford County, Pennsylvania.

Gerrit Smith read several letters from five young men resident in Kansas, presenting a sad picture of the condition of the friends of freedom in that city.

The resolutions reported by the Business Committee were then taken up, and a further discussion on the constitutional question continued.

At the afternoon session the consideration of the constitutional question was resumed.

WILLIAM GOODELL, in a speech of great power, considered the general subject of the constitutionality of Slavery, and the proper manner of interpreting the Constitution. The key to a correct interpretation is to rid ourselves of the popular fallacy that there was legalized Slavery at the time the Constitution was framed, and that there was an issue made on the subject in the Convention. He said there was no compromise

made with Slavery when the Union was founded in 1774, or when it was confirmed in 1776; that the anti-slavery sentiment was strong among all the leading men of the Revolution, though they believed in gradual emancipation; indeed, the anti-slavery sentiment was stronger in Virginia than in New York: Rhode Island, the slave-market of the country at that time, was more deeply interested in the perpetuation of Slavery than any other State. He dwelt at much length on the rules of legal construction, and concluded that the fair method of interpretation, beyond peradventure, is to try the question in issue by the several rules in succession; 1st, by strict construction; 2ndly, by contemporaneous history; and 3rdly, by the rule of the Supreme Court. He thought a thorough examination of the Constitution by each of these means of interpretation is convincing against the pro-slavery construction, and establishes conclusively the anti-slavery construction. It is a Garrisonian fallacy that the Constitution is what the acts of its administrators make it: this implies that the administrators cannot violate the Constitution, which is an absurdity. The speaker held to Gen. Jackson's position to support the Constitution as he understood it. The decision of the U. S. Supreme Court is decisive only in the particular case it has before it. An Act of Congress pronounced invalid by the Supreme Court may be re-enacted by Congress, and brought a second time before the Court; and so—if the enactment be annulled again, and re-enacted and re-submitted—finally established. Even if Slavery be constitutional now we, the people, must set ourselves to work and get a Supreme Court to make it unconstitutional. The speaker illustrated by briefly recounting the manner in which Slavery was abolished in Great Britain. He then proceeded to consider the questions—Has Congress the power to abolish Slavery? How shall they do it? He contended, that if Slavery be illegal and unconstitutional, Congress had power to abolish it, otherwise the oaths of the members to support the Constitution were of no value. The security of personal rights, guaranteed by several parts of the Constitution, gives this power; further, the Constitution provides that the United States shall guarantee to each State a republican form of government; and from this the members of Congress cannot escape without violating their oaths. Congress finds no difficulty in doing any thing it discovers to be unconstitutional: it can abolish Slavery by a mere enactment. The Judiciary have the power to abolish Slavery by granting writs of habeas corpus; and then if the master does not justify his claim it is the Court's duty to discharge the alleged slave. If the Judiciary neglect to do their duty, Congress is competent to declare what the law is by a declaratory act. Congress may also decide that the slaves are citizens, and therefore free; or, it may be, by enactment naturalize them. There are other ways. The President has full power. If Gerrit Smith should one of these days be elected to the Presidency, it would not be surprising to see the slaves all liberated by his proclamation. The speaker closed by thanking God that the Missouri Compromise was repealed, as it was to hasten the day of Abolition. If all anti-slavery

men take hold with a will, it will not be ten years, he said, before we shall see the last of Slavery in this country."

The debate was continued with great spirit by GERRIT SMITH, SAMUEL J. MAY, and others. GERRIT SMITH, in the course of his remarks, suggested that the very first duty of an Anti-slavery Congress should be the preferment of articles of impeachment against pro-slavery Judges of the Supreme Court.

The Convention closed its sittings by a meeting in the City Hall. The speakers were Frederick Douglass and Wm. J. Watkins of Rochester, Hiram B. Crozier and Lewis Tappan of New York, Lucius C. Matlack of Syracuse, and Gerrit Smith. Frederick Douglass argued that the action of this Convention would amount to nothing except it were thoroughly placed before the people of the country. He had great faith in the people—much more than in anti-slavery organizations. These associations answer their purpose and then die. The cause has worn out many such organizations, and he thought it likely to wear out others before the work is done. He believed that the people would accept the great truths sent forth from this gathering, and would hail with joy the opportunity presented for the peaceful abolition of Slavery through the influence of the ballot-box. He argued against action with the Free-Soil party, for the reason that they consider the right of States (admitted as such with Constitutions forbidding Slavery) to establish Slavery, if they choose, the day after admission.

GERRIT SMITH proposed a resolution thanking the President (Dr. J. M'Cune Smith) for his ability, and impartiality in presiding over this Convention. Attention was called to the fact that Dr. Smith was the first coloured man that has ever presided over such a body. Mr. Douglass challenged the production of a better presiding officer than Dr. S. proved himself. This resolution was adopted by a general vote of the large audience. Dr. SMITH responded. He came here to breathe free air. Twenty years ago he was obliged to go 3000 miles to enjoy his liberty. He expressed the hope that when another Jerry should come to Syracuse, the people here would again shew the world that the slaveholders of the South have not title-deeds to their lands. He believed that, after all, our Republic is built on a corner-stone that can bear the weight of Abolition.

Resolutions were adopted recommending *The American Jubilee*, and other papers, and returning thanks to Vice-Presidents and Secretaries, when the Convention adjourned *sine die*.

The Convention is to be followed by others, to be held in different States: the next to be held at Cleveland or Oberlin, Ohio, in the

fall of the year. Several others are proposed to be held in the New-England States.

ANTI-SLAVERY ITEMS.

THE following are from recent American files.

SLAVE SEIZURE.—On the 18th of July last, as the Hon. John H. Wheeler, U. S. Ambassador to Nicaragua, was passing through Philadelphia, and had taken passage on board the *Washington*, at the foot of Walnut street, accompanied by three negro slaves, his own property, he was assailed by a gang of negroes, headed, as Mr. Wheeler alleges, by a man named Passmore Williamson. The assailants violently seized Mr. Wheeler and stole from him his three slaves. One of the aggressors threatened to cut Mr. Wheeler's throat if he attempted to prevent their efforts.

On application yesterday (the 19th), Judge Kane granted a *habeas corpus* directed to Passmore Williamson, requiring him to produce in open court the bodies of the slaves stolen from Mr. Wheeler, returnable at three o'clock in the afternoon. At that time Mr. Vandyke appeared for Mr. Wheeler, and Edward Hopper for respondent. Mr. Hopper stated that he had appeared at the request of the respondent's father, as a mark of respect to the summons of the court; that Passmore Williamson had left for Harrisburg on private business.

Mr. Vandyke replied, that he who had the wrongful possession of a person should be present to answer the writ of the Court; but if the party were not present, he would ask for an *alias habeas corpus*, returnable at such time as the Court might suggest. The Judge then fixed the morning of the 20th of July, at ten o'clock, for the return of the writ.

The slaves were a mother and two children, who had requested the privilege of accompanying Mr. Wheeler to Nicaragua. Five of the negroes were arrested, and are in prison, having been committed in default of bail.

On the morning of the 20th of July the return to the writ of *alias habeas corpus* was made by presence of the body to whom the writ was directed. Mr. Vandyke appeared on the part of the United States, and Messrs. Gilpin, Hopper, Pierce, and Birney, on the part of the respondent.

The respondent, Passmore Williamson, Esq., made a return to the Court, to the effect that the bodies of Jane, Daniel, and Isaiah, mentioned in the writ to him directed, were not now, and had not been at any time, in the custody, power, or possession of the then respondent.

Mr. Vandyke briefly stated the facts of the case, and said that if he proved these simple facts he proved the return false.

The point raised by the opposite counsel, he said, was, that the Court would not now go behind the return; but he asked that the Court now go into the question of the committal of the outrage, and prove, by evidence, the return to be false.

Hon. John H. Wheeler sworn—Is a native of North Carolina; is the owner of the coloured persons named Jane, Daniel, and Isaiah; left Washington City on Wednesday, the 18th, under

an order from government to embark at New York for Nicaragua, to which port he was an accredited ambassador; he had been in that service about a year; had come home a short time ago, and was ordered to return in consequence of the confused state of political affairs in that country; his wife and three servants were with him; reached Philadelphia about a quarter past one o'clock on his way to New York; was forced to leave the boat to go to the residence of his father-in-law, Thomas Sully, Esq., to get some things for Mrs. Wheeler; had obtained the trunk containing the articles spoken of, and returned to the wharf, but found the two o'clock boat gone; had to wait until five o'clock for the next train, which time was spent at the nearest hotel, Bloodgood's, at Walnut-street Wharf; on going on board the boat at a little before five o'clock, retired with the three servants to the hurricane deck, to get out of the noise and bustle.

Shortly before five o'clock, while I was reading the evening papers, an individual whom I recognised as Mr. Passmore Williamson (looking at the respondent) came up to me, and asked if he might speak to my servants; witness replied that he could not imagine what business he could have with his servants, and that if he had any thing to say, witness was the proper person to say it to; Mr. Williamson then pushed past witness, and asked the woman (Jane) if she was a slave, and if she knew she was in a free country, or something like it, and then if they (the servants) would like to be free; the woman replied that she knew with whom she was going, where and how she was going; the respondent took her by the arm and began to force her away; witness interfered, and said to Mr. Williamson, "I wish you would go away;" two coloured fellows who had come up then seized and held witness, and one of them said, "If you make any resistance, I will cut your throat;" do not know the proper names of the negroes who seized and held me; one of them is called "Rabbit."

By the interference of some gentleman, who seemed to be a traveller, the negroes released the witness, and he hurried down to the lower deck and saw Williamson hurrying the woman off, and other coloured persons with the boys, who were struggling to get away; went up to Williamson; and asked what he was going to do with the woman; he answered that his name was Passmore Williamson; that he could be found at Seventh and Arch streets, and that he would be responsible for any legal claim he (witness) might have on the slaves. By this time the coloured persons with Mr. Williamson had got the servants off the wharf, and turning down the first street above the wharf, (Front street,) hurried them into a carriage which was standing about a square below Walnut street, in a large open space, with large warehouses in it (Dock street); after the negroes had got off the boat, Mr. Williamson walked behind the crowd, and said something in a whisper to a large burly policeman who was standing near.

The witness spoke to the policeman, asking him to observe the people who were committing the outrage, but the policeman refused to have any thing to do with the matter, as "he was not a slave-catcher."

Cross examined—Mr. Williamson walked back with me from the carriage; he offered to write his name down, but I told him I could write it myself; he gave no directions to the driver; it was not a regular coach stand; there were no other carriages near; the people standing about the carriage, and who hurried the servants into it, were coloured.

Judge Kane said that the case was of so grave a character, and the consequences so great to the defendant, that he was desirous, before pronouncing an opinion, to take time to consider and examine the matter. In the mean time, the defendant must enter bail in the sum of 5000 dollars, on the motion to hold for perjury, to appear on next Monday morning for a further hearing, at which time he would deliver a written opinion upon the subject.

NEGRO HUNTING.—When it was first announced that Cuban negro-catching blood hounds were introduced into this country during the Seminole war, to trap the Red-men, the nation shuddered. The enemy was savage, it is true; but we claimed to be civilized: so it was thought to be a step backward for a great and powerful nation to descend to such means, even to hunt out the people of Osceola.

It is a question which becomes comparatively the more hardened in iniquity—a nation or an individual? The individual has his moments of solitude and reflection, but the nation once on the downward slope, appears to have neither brains nor bowels. The Southern nation—the negro-driving race—appears to be going to wreck and ruin without a throb of compunction. The blood-hound, emblem of cowardly distrust and brutal cupidity, is now a household word of the South. He is as regularly advertised as the animal man. Shame is no longer felt in this regard.

As a specimen of the manner in which this brutal addendum to the institution is paraded in the face of God and man, take the following from *The Bolivar (Tenn.) Democrat* of May 9:

"**BLOOD HOUNDS!!!**—The undersigned has purchased the well-known NEGRO-DOGS of David Turner, formerly of this county, and offers his services to the citizens of this and adjoining counties, for the purpose of catching Runaway Negroes. All who have negroes in the woods will please give me a call. I live three miles north of Bolivar, on the Jackson road.

"JAMES SMITH.

"Bolivar, Tenn., Jan. 30, 1855."

Or take the following—a MSS. placard—(the original we have) which was posted up against the Court-house at Montgomery, Alabama:

"**NOTICE.**—The undersigned would respectfully inform the citizens of Montgomery and surrounding country that he is stationed one mile from the Court-house, on the South Plank Road, with the well-known pack of Negro Dogs formerly owned by G. W. Edwards, and will attend to all calls that he may be favoured with. Terms of hunting will be reasonable. For Ketching Ten Dollars if in or near the city, and charges in proportion to distance and troubles.

"**N.B.**—All persons forbidden to strike a Negro with a stick or any weapyn while in my charge, unless he mislist, and then with caution unless there is danger of damage being done. In-

formation by any person of negroes lying about their premises will be attended to without charge if they are not their own.

"May 29, 1855.

A. V. WORTHY."

After this, what shall we say of the Know-Nothingism that is afraid of a handful of foreigners in the South as dangerous to liberty, while it patriotically ignores the existence of Slavery, with blood hounds and burnings alive of the victim? But these dough-faced wretches shall be scourged by the lash of public opinion to their appropriate dens.

THE DOOM OF THE COTTON-HAND.—Up in Twenty-fourth Street, New-York City, is now surely spinning out the solution of Cotton-planting Slavery. Iron and steel machinery, and chemical solvents are making of flax fibre a more than rival for the Mississippi fibre which underlies the Southern system of labour, and on which rests the politics of half the Union, and in whose behalf the extreme resort to disruption of the Federal tie and civil war is constantly menaced. The rivalry between flax and cotton is established. Can there be any doubt about the final issue of this competition? Must not the Cotton-hand lose his value—and, of consequence, will not the planter clamorously insist upon the constitutional duty of the Union to buy his slaves at high prices, and deport them to Africa?

Five years ago, in Buffalo, a gentleman engaged in spinning cotton was led by a perusal of an article in "Rees's Encyclopædia" to experiment upon the flax fibre with bleaching salts. These he deemed to be nearly identical with a solution mentioned by Rees as employed by linen-makers in Sweden to whiten the fibre before it was carded and spun—the ashes of kelp thrown into sea-water. The result was satisfactory. We have seen on a reel the flax cotton produced by him.

We now have before us three samples from the New-York establishment. No. 1 is pearly white, coarse, though soft, and very glossy. It had only been passed through the picker. In this state it is to be put into market. No. 2 is to shew the length of the fibre. This is two and a-half inches long. No. 3 is the same article carded. This operation is not intended to be performed at the establishment. That will be left for the manufacturers to do. This last sample is white, soft, fine and strong, and perfectly clean. In this condition it can be spun, either alone, or mixed with wool or with cotton. The sample would seem to leave no doubt of the practicability of the Flax-Cotton manufacture. Yet the process is a new one, and the works at which these samples were made were put up only to systematize the invention, and organize and perfect the business.

The process of the manufacture as it has been described to us is this: Rough flax is cut into required lengths (say of the desired lengths of the cotton fibre) by a machine similar to a common straw cutter. Two or three tons of this 'chopped stuff' are put into a steam reservoir and steamed some three hours, till the fibre is cleaned of gummy matter and separated in part from the wood. The mass is then dried. A beating process afterwards separates the fibrous from the lqueous portion of the flax. The fibrous part is next steeped for a length of time in solution of

bleaching salts, for the purpose of bleaching it. The salts are then worked thoroughly out, and the flax-cotton is ready for bailing and a market.

This process is a cheap one. We are informed that the beautiful No. 3 article before us costs but 2 cents per pound. This appears to us almost incredible; but when we take into consideration that flax is raised as a crop for the seed alone, and that consequently the straw or stalk can be afforded at a merely nominal price, we are led to think that flax-cotton can be manufactured at a price vastly below the cost of 'making' cotton in the Slave States. There we think it is conceded that it cannot be raised for less than 6 cents the pound.—*Buffalo Democracy.*

BURNING A NEGRO AT THE STAKE.—Some time since we published an account of the murder of Miss Thornton, an interesting young girl, residing near Gaston, Alabama. Immediately after the murder and detection of the negro, his immediate punishment was seriously contemplated by the people of Sumpter County; but after mature deliberation the law-abiding citizens delivered him into the custody of the proper officers, and he was committed to prison.

At the late term of the Circuit Court of Sumpter County, the attorney appointed by the Court, in the discharge of his duty, moved for a change of venue to Greene County. The judge, as the motion was sustained by the proper affidavit, sustained the application.

On Wednesday last the citizens of South Sumpter assembled *en masse* at Mr. William McElroy's, and unanimously passed a series of resolutions, reflecting seriously upon the conduct of the judge; and after having pledged themselves to sustain each other, a portion of them proceeded to Livingstone and took the miserable criminal by force from the jail where he was confined.

On Friday last, after due preparation, they carried him to the spot where he so cruelly murdered his innocent victim, and burnt him alive at the stake.

About three thousand persons were present, who witnessed with various emotions the dreadful spectacle. We were present, but hope that we may never again witness a scene like it. The pyre was composed of several cords of light wood, in the centre of which was a green willow stake, selected in consequence of its indestructibility by fire.

On the top of the pile of light wood the criminal was placed, and securely chained to the stake. While in this situation he confessed his guilt, stating that he had no accomplice; that he was actuated by lust alone; that he had attempted to violate her person, but had failed, and to conceal the attempt he had cruelly murdered her by beating the poor innocent creature with a stump; that while he was doing this she implored him to carry her home to her father, and that she would conceal the violence he had inflicted. He then left, but soon returned, and after again beating her, he concealed the body in the very hole where the stake was planted at which he suffered.

After this confession was made, the match was applied, and in a few moments the devouring flames were enveloping the doomed negro. His

fearful cries resounded through the air, while the surrounding negroes who witnessed his dreadful agony and horrible contortions sent up an involuntary howl of horror. His sufferings, though excruciating, were short: in a few minutes the flames had enveloped him entirely, revealing now and then, as they fitfully swayed hither and thither, his black and burning carcass, like a demon of the fire, grinning as if in hellish triumph at his tormentors. Soon all was over: nothing was left but the burning flesh and charred skeleton of this human devil, who could thus deliberately perpetrate so foul a crime. The horrid outrage was fearfully avenged, and though the heavens were reeking with the stench of burning flesh, yet justice was satisfied; the law of retaliation was inflicted as nearly as it could be, while the example made of this wretch had no doubt a salutary effect upon the two thousand slaves who witnessed his execution.

We are far from approving of the infliction of mob-law; yet in aggravated cases like this popular ebullition will manifest itself; and in view of the enormity of the wretch's offence, we, as a public journalist, cannot approve: yet we have neither time nor inclination to censure the conduct of the people of South Sumpter. Justice was inflicted by them, and a thousand deaths of the kind were too good for a devil like negro Dave.—*Marion (Miss.) Republican.*

THE LAST DEVELOPMENT.—"We have, from a private and perfectly trustworthy source in Texas," says the *New-York Tribune*, "some important information with regard to the present movement under Carvajal in Northern Mexico. The conspiracy originates in Texas, and is exclusively in the interest of the slave-drivers. It has been preparing for months, and, as we are assured, was known to nobody better than to those officers of the Federal Government whose duty it was to arrest the execution of the scheme. Prominent in it is Ford, the conductor of *The State Times*, he having spent the last month at San Antonio, helping to organize the Fillibuster force, which collected there to the number of about 400.

"Apart from the ever active desire of the negro oligarchy for new Slave States as a means of retaining in their hands the power and patronage of the government, there is a special stimulus to the proposed acquisition of Tamaulipas, Coahuila and New Leon, in the fact that they now afford a refuge for considerable numbers of fugitive slaves, and that, so long as they form a part of Mexico, this inconvenience will continue to be felt. The number of negroes who now regularly emancipate themselves by flight across the Rio Grande cannot be less than 300 a year, and may be many more. It is safe to estimate the loss of active human property which the patriots of Texas thus experience at 200,000 dollars per annum, not to say any thing of their being deprived of the luxury of flogging all these negroes, which otherwise they would enjoy. Accordingly they very naturally aim to accomplish at once several most laudable purposes: to add at least three new Slave States to our glorious Union; to recover their runaway property; to become rich by the increased value of their lands in the conquered country; to render them-

selves immortal as the liberators of the new members of the American Republic from Mexican barbarism and anarchy; and possibly to get themselves into good business as governors, judges, senators, or representatives of the 're-annexed' territories. From present appearances it is quite possible that they may succeed, at least in the first part of their enterprise. They will probably detach the Republic of the Sierra Madre from Mexico; and as for making a treaty afterward with the Government of this country for the surrender of all the slaves that have escaped or may escape from Texas within their limits, there is not likely to be any great difficulty about that. With regard to the ulterior design of 'reannexation,' their success is not so certain, and cannot be so prompt. If the negro-drivers and doughfaces triumph in the next Presidential election, we must expect nothing less than the simultaneous admission of slaveholding Kansas and of these new States of the Sierra Madre. The one only obstacle to such an event is the republican party, already formed in so many States, and soon to be completely organized in New York also. Out of that party there is no barrier to hinder the Oligarchy from carrying out their wildest schemes of domination and self-aggrandizement. In the midst of that black and degrading revolution which this insolent and reckless power is forcing upon the nation, the republican party is the sole conservative force, the only focus of resistance which offers the slightest possibility of saving the country from the evils with which the Douglasses, Stringfells, Atchisons, and Fords seek to overwhelm it. And yet there are many who claim to love freedom, and to be devoted to the peace and the welfare of the country, who stand aloof from that great party, and thus tacitly give aid and comfort to the villains who are pushing the dark plot to its completion!"

AMELIORATION OF SLAVERY.—When laws are passed in all of the Southern States legalizing marriage among slaves, preserving the relations between parents and their young children, and allowing to all the advantage of education, some of the most crying evils of Slavery will have been removed. Every true philanthropist must bid God speed to the efforts which are making in some of the Southern States to bring about this result. The Port Gibson (Miss.) *Reveille* says, in connection with this subject:

"The project now being agitated by the people of North Carolina, and soon to be carried before the legislature of that State, is one which we think, to say the least of it, will create a sensation. It is, 1st, to render legal the institution of marriage among slaves; 2d, to preserve sacred the relations between parents and their young children; and 3d, to repeal the laws prohibiting the education of slaves. If this modification in the law is made in North Carolina, as we are informed it probably will be, other States, no doubt, will take the matter into consideration. The main features of the movement have been adopted in practice, or at least approved in theory, by nearly all our planters, so far as circumstances would allow; and we cannot but think the modification is well worth the serious consideration of every Southern

man. Should the Southern people think it proper, after due investigation, to adapt the regulation in every one of the Slave States, Slavery will then be regarded in an entirely new light, and the enemies of the institution will be robbed of their most fruitful and plausible excuse for agitation and complaint. There may be, however, evils to contend with and objections to be answered in the adoption of such a modification. We therefore leave the subject open for future consideration, and in the mean time invite a free examination of the subject by our readers."

EQUITY IN VIRGINIA.—The *Richmond Enquirer* furnishes the following statement:

"Eliza Crawford and five children, coloured, suing for their freedom.—The case was decided in favour of the plaintiffs; the evidence being full and complete that the chief plaintiff, Eliza, was born of a white woman of Georgia. She is now about thirty-five years of age, and has been in slavery between fifteen and twenty years. Her appearance indicates that her father was a mixture of African and Indian. She is now the mother of six children, all of whom were plaintiffs, except the eldest, who never belonged to defendant, and who, it is said, will now be set at liberty without resistance. There was no evidence, however, to shew that the defendant was in any way privy to, or accountable for, the injustice done the plaintiffs."

The condition of the mother is inherited by the children in all the Slave States. This rule, being for the benefit of the owners of slaves, of course will not be formally violated by them, especially as instances like the above are so rare as to offer little temptation to the cupidity of the possessors of such "property." Although it is confessed that Eliza Crawford has been in bondage between fifteen and twenty years, and her children all their lives, it does not appear that the thought has entered the mind of any one that she and they are entitled to any indemnity for these years of toil and degradation. They who enslaved her would not have done so without profit, and they are permitted to retain the fruits of her labour. And yet, for the restoration of these people to their God-given liberty, we are expected to sing pæans to the justice and magnanimity of the legal tribunals of the Slave States.—*National Era*.

DISCHARGED.—Harriet Barritt, Fanny Smith, Isaac Goodwin, and J. W. Thomas, who were in jail for being in the State without licence, were whipped and discharged.—*St. Louis Mirror*.

Shame on Missouri. "Whipped and discharged" for the crime of bring free men and women!—*Chicago Journal*.

If these free negroes had gone to Illinois, and the laws of that State had been executed, they would have been sold "for the crime of being free men and women."—*Louisville Journal*.

And if sold in Kentucky, and any white man had been suspected of helping them out of bondage, he would have been pursued and killed by some ruffian constable, aided by a crowd of citizens.—*National Era*.

SLAVE PIRACY.—In rendering a decision at Boston, lately, in the case of the brig *Porpoise*, seized for being engaged in the slave-trade, Judge

Curtis, of the U. S. Circuit Court, held that a vessel which has acted as a tender on slavers, and has carried merchandize which was used for the purchase of slaves, and had otherwise aided in the slave traffic, although she had not actually carried a single slave, was guilty of being engaged in the slave-trade within the meaning of the statute.

KANSAS.—The Missourians have been carrying things with a high hand in Kansas. Not content with destroying the *Parkville Luminary*, they have threatened to overthrow every press that is hostile to their views. A secret association has been formed, having for its object to destroy the business and character of Northern men, or, if needs be, their expulsion from the State.

Speaking of these threats, and its results on emigration, the *National Era* says: "We apprehend that some emigrants may be turned back by these demonstrations, but the danger in the distance looks more threatening than it really is. So far, a single press has been destroyed, and one life has been lost in an affray; and yet emigrants are constantly passing through the belligerent country and settling in the territory. If the conspirators are suffered to proceed with impunity—if they meet with no check—the consequences may be fearful; but they are not yet so strong that they may not be taught moderation, by firmness and organization on the part of emigrants and settlers."

The following extract, taken from the *Mobile Register*, will indicate the tone of the pro-slavery press:

"As much as we abhor mob law, we say, with our hand on our heart, that we rejoice that the Missourians have shewn, by something stronger than paper protests and wordy resolutions, a purpose to resist the steady and long-continued efforts of fanatical scoundrels to invade their rights and to jeopard their domestic, social, and political safety. The time has gone by for mincing matters. These men are our enemies. They would rejoice to see the faggot applied to our dwellings and the knife to our throats. They should be dealt with as such; and if war results, let it come. If this is not a fighting question none ever appealed to the most sacred sympathies of the human bosom. . . . We trust that the Missourians will continue the good fight they have begun, and, if need be, call on their brethren in the South for help to put down by force of arms the infernal schemes hatched in Northern hotbeds of abolition for their injury. The question is obliged to come to the arbitrament of blows, and Kansas is as good a battleground as any other. There is no other way to deal with people who have taken leave of reason, who refuse to listen to the considerations of humanity, and who trample on the Word of God and the Constitution of their country, in their insane efforts to compass their diabolical ends."

At a mass-meeting, held at Western Mobile, the following resolutions were adopted:

"That self-defence requires the expulsion of every person bringing into reproach negro Slavery; that robbers and traitors have no right to the protection of the law; that they ratify the proceedings at the Parkville riot; that they ap-

prove of the resolutions in regard to Methodists, and add thereto all ministers preaching prejudicial to Slavery; that they have no arguments against abolition papers but the Missouri river, bonfire, and hemp rope; that they pledge themselves to go to Kansas and help to expel those corrupting the slaves; that they call a grand mass-meeting at Parkville on the 5th inst."

The *Herald of Freedom*, one of the threatened papers, is neither despondent nor faint-hearted. It says: "It is virtually an impossibility for slaveholders to get a foothold here. The actual residents have a majority of three to one against Slavery, and this number they can maintain. A few weak-hearted persons may leave the territory, but thousands who have the ring of true steel in their composition will come in to take their places. Laws made by Missourians will have no binding force on the people of Kansas; and as for slave laws, the next Congress will throw restrictions around any enactments passed in violation of popular sovereignty, which will make them inoperative."

"No intelligent body of men, whether Northern or Southern, can sustain the recent course pursued by those who robbed us of our legal rights a few weeks ago."

"The recent election has not, and will not, encourage Southern emigration. We have information from points all along the border, and we are assured that there has been no importation of slaves, with the exception of a few at the Shawnee Mission, whilst others have been sold, leaving but a very slight actual increase."

"The Legislature may attempt to legalize the institution, and will probably pass a law in its favour over the executive veto; but what of that? It is like any other law not sustained by the popular will, and it will give no confidence to slaveholders; on the contrary, they will not feel like bringing their chattels where there is the remotest probability of their coming in contact with the friends of freedom. Slaves are held by the law of might. The moment they are informed they long for liberty, and labour to secure it. The master knows this, and hence his anxiety to expel from the soil those who erected the monument at Bunker Hill in commemoration of the actions of their ancestors. But before our people shall leave the plains of Kansas, an event will occur which posterity will be as proud of as were those who listened to Webster's great speech, on the laying of the corner-stone of that stupendous pile of masonry near Boston."

"But there is another fact which will tell powerfully against Slavery in Kansas; and that is, the impossibility of procuring a sufficient quantity of real estate. Until the lands shall come into market, the most wealthy person in the world can only secure 160 acres. This is not sufficient for a plantation, as not less than a thousand acres will answer any purpose, and 1500 acres would be preferred."

"There are numerous other reasons, independent of the settlement of the territory with free men, which will serve as a powerful check to the introduction of slave-labour among us, the details of which we shall reserve for a future Number."

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1855.

OUR FREE COLONIES.

WE have been permitted to make a few extracts from two letters recently addressed to two friends of the Anti-slavery cause in this country, which will, we feel assured, be perused with interest. The first is from a resident in Jamaica, and is pregnant with valuable hints and suggestions. We consider the writer's remarks on the labour question very much to the purpose, and worthy of the serious consideration of those who are at a loss to meet the objections raised against emancipation, on the score of its having, as it is alleged, entailed a scarcity of labour. We propose to recur to this subject in an early number.

"The colonization of the fugitive Canadians has occupied my attention for several years, and Mr. Scoble and I met in Canada, and conferred fully on the subject. I have not the least doubt of the success of such a scheme. Hitherto the legislature of this island would only listen to proposals for the importation of labourers for the estates, who would work steadily and at low wages; in short, our planters and legislators contemplated a state of *serfdom* as the proper condition for the labourers. This error has been pretty well exploded by the experience of the last few years: it has involved a war against nature. It is only in *slave* countries that the planter can thrust labour into channels of his own choosing: in free countries, labour will, in spite of him, flow into its *natural* channels. If an Australian or American farmer wanted permanently a hundred labourers for his farms, he could not obtain them, no matter what capital he had to pay them with; nor can a Jamaica planter, now that the country is free. The large sugar estates are being abandoned daily, for it is impracticable to command the requisite amount of low-priced labour; and we shall never attain prosperity until our labourers, or at least many of them, become the planters of the country. We must consider Jamaica now as a *new* country, commencing its career; and the sooner what is old in the economies of its agriculture, and of its social condition, passes away, the better. Sugar at 10*l.* a hogshead cannot be raised on the large plantations; but so long as two hogsheads, or 20*l.* worth, can be raised out of one well-manured acre, I think the cultivation may be kept up by a smaller class of farmers, who will do the work by ploughs, clod-crushers, and other labour-saving machinery. Pray consider this; and if you think these observations well-founded, I shall be glad that you raise a discussion on the point to which I have adverted. I find that, on a plantation making 100 hogsheads, the standing charges for stock to work and manure the estate is about 200*l.* a-year, and for oversight and management 200*l.* more; say 4*l.* per hogshead, all of which would be saved to the small planter. * * *

"It is only the culpable neglect of every measure for the establishment of our own people in civilization, and the exclusive attention that has for twenty years past been paid to the greatly mistaken views—selfish views—of the planter, that has blighted the reputation of the measure of emancipation. It is surprising to me how very blind the Colonial Office is to the questions on which the restoration of this island really depends. * * *

"My views of what is necessary to establish Jamaica in prosperity are comprehended in the following measures:—

"1st. A bastardy law, to discourage illicit connections, and ensure, by encouragement of marriage, the protection of women and children.

"2nd. Colonization of Europeans and Canadian fugitives, not as labourers, but as settlers of a superior order to our native population.

"3rd. Encouragement of small farming, by loans, to be repaid out of the *crops* of sugar, coffee, arrowroot, cocoa, and plantain fibre, and to be secured by a law making all such advances preferable and first liens on the crops which the money assisted to make.

"4th. Establishment of interior towns and villages, (of which there are scarcely any in the island,) location of shopkeepers and tradesmen, who would stimulate the agricultural population to exertion in the most legitimate way, by their wares.

"5th. Schools and efficient teachers; churches and official preachers; not Oxford men, but of the class of John Wesley's glorious band, who stirred up and christianized the Keyswood colliers. * * *

"The more I reflect on the abolition of Slavery, the greater appears its importance, and that in a religious point of view. This island is still suffering the bitter consequences of having tolerated the system; and in the severe processes necessary for the rectification of society, the whole body of the ancient landholders have been ruined."

The second extract is not less interesting. It is emphatic respecting the advantages of emancipation, and we can place every reliance on the writer. It is from Barbice, and is under date of the 6th August last. He says:

"I have a friend with me from Barbados, who has not visited the colony for seventeen years, but who was present and took part in the services held in the chapel of Mr. Wray on the 1st of August 1834. He says that it is impossible for any one not acquainted with the country previous to emancipation, to conceive the great improvement that has taken place. The improvement in the houses, dress, and cheerful appearance of the people, struck him forcibly, as presenting a marked contrast to the state of things when first he knew the colony. Education, of course, is something entirely new; and he was greatly delighted with an examination of our schools, which he witnessed. He represents certain properties, after which he has made no inquiry for many years, as he was led to understand that they were entirely valueless; but he finds that he can dispose of land readily, and at a fair price, shewing an improvement, at least in certain districts, notwithstanding the

cry of ruin; which, he says, has been the cry since ever he was acquainted with the country. My friend, in behalf of his wife, received compensation at emancipation; and one object he had in view in his present visit is to hand over to the persons who belonged to his wife, or their children, the sum thus received. I have had much pleasure in aiding him in this good work, which, I am glad to say, he views as a simple act of justice."

SLAVERY AND THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

THE articles on the above subject, which have been published in this Journal, have called forth the subjoined communication from a correspondent at Kaw Mendi Station, West Coast of Africa. It is dated the 16th July last.

"TO THE BRITISH ANTI-SLAVERY PUBLIC, AND THE MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, AND ALL WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

"Dear Brethren in the cause of redeeming humanity—

"I was very much surprised, this week, to find in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* for May and June 1855, that the question of admitting to our Churches in Africa *slaveholders* has been agitated—that the Committee of the above Society have sanctioned it, with certain provisos, which will let the monster into our midst, when it will be found hard to get him out again.

"My own opinion is, that the course marked out by that Committee is exceedingly unwise, and will prove subversive to the vital interests of religion in the region of Calabar; and the example will have its influence, and other Churches may be induced to be more tolerant towards slaveholders; and thus it may go on until the African Churches will be in much such a fix as are the Churches among the Cherokee and Choctaw Indians of America.

"It is true, that the '*Declaration*,' to be required from slaveholders joining the Church, if carried out faithfully, would secure great blessings and advantages to the slave; but such requisitions will not be carried out. Mark my word, THEY WILL NOT.

"By this step the enemy will get advantage of us, and it will be tenfold more difficult to remedy the evil in future, after yielding to Slavery so much, than it would be to maintain a steady firm course, refusing to admit in any shape, into our Churches, a *slaveholder*. The impression must be made (if we would be faithful to our trust) that '*slaveholding is wholly inconsistent with Christianity*.' Professions, confessions, promises, amendments of life, praying, giving, &c., must not suffice, so long as a person retains the relation of *master and slave*; or, in any way, looks upon, treats, or considers *man as property*. If we would have God's blessing, we must steadily adhere to this principle in all our organizations.

"I perceive (in the *May Reporter*) that the question has been asked whether the church at *Kaw Mendi* had found it necessary to receive slaveholders.* I am surprised at such a thought.

* Our esteemed correspondent is in error. If

"As I am the senior Missionary of this Mission, having been connected with it since 1848—as the church here was formed by myself, when here alone, and most of the seventy old native members have been received by myself—it may be supposed I should be familiar with the main facts in the history of the church at Kaw Mendi, &c. I will therefore take the liberty of saying a few words on this subject, seeing it is already before the public. Our excellent treasurer of the *American Mission Association* has already answered the question, but the statement of additional facts, by one who has been and is on the ground, may not be amiss.

"That *Slavery* exists in this part of Africa cannot be denied, but that the Missionaries tolerate and encourage it we do deny. From the days of Raymond, the immortal founder of this Mission, to this day, Slavery, in all its forms, has been boldly and faithfully preached against, to kings and people.

"I have preached whole sermons on the guilt and wickedness of Slavery, and often make it one of the heads of my common discourses. In public, in social, in private, in courts, or palaces, or mud huts, we expose its abominations, and use our influence for its overthrow.

"But in the church how is it? 1st, Every candidate, who comes for admission to the church, is closely questioned as to his or her feelings on the subject of Slavery, Pawns, &c. 2ndly, One of our '*Articles of Faith*' reads, '*We believe that it is wicked for one man to hold another as a slave, either to buy, to sell, to hold, or to give countenance to it in others; and we will not do it ourselves, nor suffer others to do it, without faithful rebuke.*' Under this head, in our explanations, is included the custom of *pawns*, or in any way treating *man as property*. 3rdly, Our practice, (1) I have refused to marry a man to a woman who had slaves, and refused to give them up. (2) No man is allowed to hold slaves in our town if it is known, or to bring them here to work, if we know or can ascertain the fact; and we are particular to question those who come for work, to find out whether they are slaves or not. (3) A man, who has lived here long, went into the interior, leaving his wife, a member of the church. After a time he sent down a man and a boy as *pawns* for a debt the people owed him where he went. Not being able to pay the debt, they gave him this man and boy as *security*, and he sent them to his wife, to be kept at the Mission till the debt should be paid. They lived here some time without my knowing how they were here. At length it began to be whispered that they were sent down as pawns. On investigation it was found to be true, and the wife at once called before the church and suspended, for not making known the facts at once. We immediately made out *free papers* for the man, and placed the boy in the school, and under the care of the Mission, to be fed, clothed,

he refer to the June number, (no article on the subject was published in May,) he will not find the remark on which he comments, but, on the contrary, a commendation of the course which has been taken by the *American Missionary Association*, in relation to the admission of slaveholders to the church.—(Ed. A.S.R.)

and educated—a very smart promising lad. (4) A man, who joined the Church during my first sojourn here, during last year tried to collect an old debt of his father's. The man who owed was poor, and could not pay. The church member caught one of his people. The debtor then took his own son and put him in pawn for a slave boy whom he brought, and paid the debt. As soon as these facts were ascertained, the church member was tried, convicted, fined heavily, and by the church excommunicated promptly. (5) Some of the great kings around, who have sent their children here to school, have said to us, 'We do not wish our children to work as the others do,' and have sent boys as servants to wait upon them. Such requirements we have always disregarded, placing all our children on a level, requiring all to work, and have placed the servants in the school, on an even footing with kings' sons.

"Such is a brief outline of our practice. We feel that we must, in every way, rebuke the idea that there can be property in man. Upon this course we believe the god of Missions smiles. He has greatly blessed our labours in leading sinners to Jesus, and training up a large company of children and youth for his service.

"For fourteen months we have enjoyed an almost constant work of grace, and precious outpourings of the Holy Spirit. Within the last eighteen months forty-three new members have been added to the church or profession, three of whom have since been excommunicated.

"Our school numbers eighty children, some of whom are qualified to teach any common school, but are preparing themselves to preach the Gospel to their benighted countrymen. We never saw children who could learn faster than these, when they can have proper instruction.

"Besides this Station, we have one on Sherbro Island, where there is an interesting school of about twenty-five children; and another at falls of Big Boom River, seventy-five miles inland, where is a small church and promising school. In addition, we have quite a number of Out-stations, at which are sustained schools, and preaching by native teachers.

"We are only waiting for more help, to open other Stations in inviting and important places. 'The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few.'

"We greatly need LABOURERS, of the right kind, in order to plant the Gospel along every river, and break up the accursed SLAVE-TRADE now carried on extensively in the region of Big Boom and Kittam Rivers by the Soosoos. The Gospel, APPLIED, would drive them, and break up the fiendish traffic; but we are so weak, we cannot apply the remedy.

"The worthy English Consul for Sherbro made a bold onset upon them, and would have broken it all up, if he had been supported by the 'men of war;' but he was even prohibited from acting himself. And now thousands yearly, in large canoes, are carried away. And no one to oppose a finger. What has become of the English Government? Will such things be tolerated where they have power to prevent them? We hope not. The Lord bring deliverance to Africa!"

SLAVERY IN TRAVANCORE.

THE existence of Slavery in Travancore, to which we have already adverted in this journal, appears to be exciting attention in other quarters. The subject is under the notice of the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society*, but much difficulty is experienced in procuring information, and in dealing with the question. We hope, however, ere long, to be in a position to bring the whole matter under the notice of the proper authorities, and trust they will be induced to adopt measures to suppress the system in Travancore.

The following article appeared in *Allen's Indian Mail* of the 3d August last:

"Though in Travancore the British authority is predominant, Slavery still lingers there, clinging to its ancient seat with the tenacity which distinguishes some forms of abuse, and none, perhaps, more decidedly than Slavery. The Rajah has slaves whose services he has been accustomed to use, not only for his own pleasure, but by letting them out for hire, thus procuring some trifling return to his coffers. The British representative in Travancore, in pursuance of instructions which from time to time he received, has sought the manumission of these miserable persons, but in vain. The right of holding human beings as property was too dear to be hastily parted with; and if any thing were to be done, the rulers of Travancore were resolved to act upon the maxim—a very favourite one in the East—of putting the evil day off as far as possible. The Rajah at length consented to limit the evils and abominations of Slavery to the present generation. Early in last year a proclamation was issued, to the effect that the children of the 'Circar slaves,' that is, the slaves of the State, should be considered free. It is gratifying to know that this proclamation contained also some clauses designed to improve the condition of slaves generally. But the document was carelessly framed, and an ambiguous provision, to the effect that the emancipation did not authorise the infringement of the standing religious usages and customs of the different classes of the subjects of the State, was calculated to excite suspicion. Some other points were unsatisfactory; so unsatisfactory, that the Madras Government called for a revision of the proclamation, so as to make it somewhat like what it ought to have been at first, and somewhat more in accordance with the present law of British India on the subject.

"Unwilling as was the Rajah to concede the great question of emancipation of adult slaves, he finally appears to have yielded. The tax on such slaves—that is, the profit on their labour made by their master and the master of the State—was abandoned. We cannot bring ourselves to regard this step as equal to unconditional emancipation; but as the Rajah can no longer get any thing by letting out his slaves, we suppose that he will not be very anxious to continue the business. The proceeding is as yet imperfect, even as to the slaves of the State; and with regard to the slaves of private individuals, nothing whatever has been done. The measure

in regard to the slaves of the Crown—if Travancore have a crown—will, we trust, be carried out in a manner satisfactory to the friends of justice. And we venture to hope that private proprietors will no longer be permitted to hold their fellow-men in bondage. The slaves in Travancore have been stated to be 'in the lowest possible state of degradation.' We believe this statement to be in no degree exaggerated; and it surely behoves England, which has done so much to abolish Slavery in foreign lands, to bring it to a speedy end in a country virtually her own, where it rages and revels in the very exuberance of deformity. Most especially does it behove those of her sons who deafen us with shouts for 'progress,' to lend all the aid in their power to accelerate the period when, throughout the vast expanse in which the word of Britain is law, not a slave shall be found, either in name or in fact."

The same journal, for the month of September, contains the following letter, addressed to the editor. Its enclosure is satisfactory, inasmuch as it shews that there is a desire on the part of some of the owners of slaves to carry out unconditional emancipation. But the government of the country must be indeed deplorable, when we find the question raised whether the slaves are not in fact better off than the free population, who, it would appear, are at the mercy of despotic underlings, against whose extortions and cruelties they have no redress.

"August 11, 1855.

"SIR,—In your last publication you have referred to the subject of Slavery in Travancore.

"I send you an extract of a letter which has lately come into my hands. It is from a person of undoubted intelligence and veracity; and I know an officer of rank, now in this country, who has visited Travancore, and can vouch for the accuracy of the statements in this letter.

"It is unnecessary to refer to my name, but I give it to satisfy you of the genuineness of the information, in case you think it advisable to make use of the statements in the letter. * * *

From a Letter dated 12th February 1855.

"Since sending off my letter dated the 8th inst. another slaveowner, desirous of effecting emancipation, has put additional documents into my hands. They consist of a stamped title-deed and stamped sale-bonds, which last specify the price paid.

"In the title-deed, which is dated Mal, 1008 (A.D. 1833), the sentence "*selling, you may sell,*" "*murdering, you may murder,*" is repeated, it appears, *twice* in the document. This individual is a highly respectable man, and sincerely desires to see the horrid system abolished. He stated it to be his firm belief that the murder of slaves by their masters is at this very time by no means a rare occurrence in a certain locality, which he named, and with which I am acquainted.

"In the sale bond, which is connected with the above-named title-deed, it is specified that the total price received for the boy and girl, described in it, was seven (7) Rs.

"In another bond, dated 1829, the price re-

ceived for three men is stated to be equivalent to Rs. 12·10 an.

"In another document, the price received for six slaves, *i.e.* a man, two women, and three children, is put down at Rs. 15·2 an.

"I know some masters, and I believe there are several, who wish to see the slaves emancipated. I may be asked why they do not set their own slaves free.

"Because, in the first place, by doing so they would draw suspicion upon themselves, perhaps attract the unfavourable notice of powerful slave-owners in government employ, and expose themselves to certain consequences.

"And in the second place, they would put their own slaves, at present well treated (for those masters who desire emancipation treat their slaves kindly), in a more pitiable state than they are now in. They would positively make them outlaws, for they (the liberated slaves) would have no chance of getting justice, whatever outrage was committed upon them; whereas, at present they have masters to plead their cause, who are impelled by self-interest to protect them from the violence of others.

"I am occasionally addressed in exactly opposite terms on the subject of Slavery. One will say, "Why do you not lift up your hand and voice against this monstrous evil; aware as you are of the treatment of the slaves?" While another friend (better acquainted with the pitiable state of the vast majority of the people of the country) says, "Why do you speak so strongly about the slaves, as if their case was worse than others? Is it really as bad even as the case of thousands of free men, who, having something to lose, and no law to protect them, are daily trampled on by those above them, and robbed, and tortured, and ground down by the Circar servants sent forth on society, to plunder by authority, seeking a substitute for the long arrears of wages, which they have no hope of obtaining?"

THE DANISH WEST-INDIA COLONIES.

A SERIES of highly-interesting letters have recently appeared in that ably-conducted journal, the *New-York Tribune*, on the subject of the results of Emancipation in the Danish possessions in the West Indies. They appear to be written by an American, and are pervaded by an air of sincerity which greatly enhances their value. They are especially deserving of attention, as affording further evidence of the advantages of freedom both to the employer and the employed. A few facts, such as those set forth in the subjoined letter, are worth any amount of argument. We shall reproduce, from time to time, any other communications on this subject from the same source.

"St. Croix, W. I., April 1855.

"I have been much interested in studying the condition and prospects of the emancipated blacks. The people on the estates are *blacks*, pure African negroes, with all the decided

characteristics of that race—the woolly head, low forehead, flat nose, thick lips, and black greasy skin. One notes at once between them and the people in the towns, particularly in St. Thomas, a marked difference in this respect. The majority of the latter, from intercourse with the whites, possess as many physical characteristics of the European as of the African. I have often seen females with a skin slightly darkened, yet with the straightest hair, with delicately cut features, with a singularly refined expression of countenance, and altogether an airy, spiritual, dreamy type of beauty, both in form and face, of which the pure white can scarcely boast.

"It may not be known to some of your readers, that in the West Indies there is a distinction, almost as wide as that of race, between *black* and *coloured*. At home, coloured is the softened designation for one who is not white. Not so here. To call a black, that is, a pure negro, coloured, or a coloured person black, is a mortal offence. Whoever has a particle of white blood is *coloured*. And these again are subdivided into mulattoes, sambos, griffs, mustis, and I believe still others, according to the cross; which distinctions, incapable of discernment by the whites, are yet carefully marked in the eye of the people.

"But the estate people of whom I speak are black—there may be a few mulattoes—and these are a stout, healthy class, with broad chests, tall forms, and fully-developed shoulders and limbs. St. Croix boasted the finest set of slaves in the West Indies. There are about 12,000 attached to the estates.

"Generally the same persons remain on the estates where they have been slaves. Never was there a more conservative and laudable movement for emancipation than was made here successfully in 1848. When they rose they went in large bodies to the public authorities, and said, 'Give us our freedom!' Three thousand, in the dusk of evening, were sweeping with heavy tread through the street, with an ominous silence, and armed with various weapons. A lady stepped out on her balcony and remonstrated with them against violence. The response, thundered forth in concert from that crowd, bearing the marks of ages of oppression and wrong, was simple and sublime: 'Missis, we want to hurt *nobody*. Freedom we want, and *freedom we will have*.' Hence, when their demands were acceded to, after a day or two of wild revel, in which they did not assault the property of their former masters, but visited their depredations on some neighbouring estate, they returned quietly to their former homes, and to steady labour. They even, in some instances, went to the forts and shipping where their masters, with their families, had taken refuge, to invite them to return, with the sincerest assurances of security. They seem bound to their birthplaces by personal regard for their superiors and acquaintances, and also by strong local attachments. The privilege of burial in the ground attached to the estate, that their dust may mingle with that of their kindred and friends, is a strong tie. When they have left they frequently return to beg the favour of depositing the bodies of their deceased in the hallowed soil.

"The 'Labour Act,' organizing the free system

of labour, decreed by the Danish Government, and rigidly enforced in this island, is much to be commended for its wisdom and benevolence, both toward the people and proprietors. Indeed, the whole historical relation of Denmark with the subject of Slavery deserves the attention, and I think will command the admiration, of practical Emancipationists. By that Act the labourers, while receiving just remuneration for their toil, are yet compelled to work while they remain in the island. They may change their place of labour once a year—the 1st of October—by giving a month's previous notice. The people are thus prevented from becoming uneasy and discontented, while the planters are secured from irregularity in the supply of labour. Changes are rare at the seasons specified.

"Fifteen cents a day is the pay of first-class hands, ten of the second, and five of the third. Children too young to work are not included; the parents have to support them. Even after they are old enough to be employed in light tasks, from five to nine, they are obliged to attend free schools three hours in the day. One-third of the wages is paid in provisions, which is to their advantage. They have many privileges about the estate by which their income is increased. A small cane piece is allotted them which they work in common, having the proceeds. They have free houses. They may raise bananas, oranges, and various vegetables in the lands adjoining their houses, to sell in town. The markets are principally supplied with poultry of their raising. Where there is wood on the estate they are allowed to cut and sell it in town. Pigs they also raise for their own use or for sale. They are permitted to keep ponies, and many own them.

"To enable them to dispose of their produce and make their little exchanges and purchases, Saturday is a free day. None are obliged to work then unless they choose; and if they do, they receive, as I have already said, five cents extra to their per diem wages. By this arrangement they increase their receipts, and the majority choose to work on Saturday.

"Altogether, they are a comfortable, happy, careless set of people. It is a stereotyped remark here, that they are the happiest peasantry in the world; and I am inclined to think, that so far as mere animal comfort is concerned, the remark has some truth. They have good houses, surrounded by pleasant and productive grounds. They have the means of clothing themselves suitably and well. On Sundays and holidays they are dressed neatly and tastily. They can provide themselves with abundance of good wholesome food. They vary their diet from the corn meal and herring shared out to them, with fresh fish brought along daily, salt provisions, and other varieties, which they get in the market on Saturdays. Often they take their meal to market and exchange it for something else. There, too, if they like, they can get fresh pork or beef and veal for a little charge. And not only can they supply themselves with good provisions, but the Creole cookery would tempt an epicure.

"The general marketing of the week is done on Saturday. The markets in each town are held in a public square or street in the open air

and hot sun. A lively, and, to a stranger, an interesting scene is presented. From all parts of the island women from the estates throng into the market-place, where, setting their wooden trays on the ground, and resting themselves on little benches or stools, they expose live chickens and ducks, eggs, cornmeal, salt-fish, and all sorts of native vegetables, which they sell or barter. Here, crowded so thickly that you can scarcely thread your way through them—standing, sitting on benches, or squatting on the ground—four or five hundred present an animated and novel spectacle.

"Contented they are. Doubtless they are comfortable as well-provided animals are comfortable; yet they are still a degraded people. They have no true consciousness of the highest elements and ends of their being. I seek in vain for evidence of intellectual, social, or moral enjoyments and aspirations. I have sought also indications of improvement in those particulars. I learn, that since the emancipation, they have exhibited a growing intelligence, so far as keeping the run of their wages and husbanding their earnings are concerned. With the use of mental arithmetic alone, with no journal or ledger but memory, they are very accurate in all their accounts. They exhibit some calculation in saving their wages, but it is solely to buy a horse or to gratify their vanity for dress and show, or to be able to live comfortably in sickness or old age. To any great betterment of their condition they do not look forward. Often they are valuable mechanics, coopers, blacksmiths, engineers, or carpenters, and might, by saving their wages, much improve their lot by emigration; but they have no disposition to do so. On one estate a young man was tending the engine: the manager told me he was thoroughly acquainted with the construction and management, and could repair it when it got out of order. He was working for his fifteen cents a day. I asked the manager why he did not save his wages and go to America or elsewhere as an engineer. He replied, that he was not aware what advantages such a step would offer, that the position of honour he there occupied gratified him more than mere increase of wages would; and as to going to America, the people all had the idea that they would be reduced to slavery again if they went there. That is a common idea with the blacks throughout the West Indies. The name of America creates an emotion of horror in their breasts.

"I am happy to learn that they evince more skill and industry in free labour than they did as slaves. It occurred to me that bounties for excellence in labour would operate as an encouragement to still more marked improvement in individuals. I have suggested the plan to an intelligent manager. He says it would beget discontent in the unsuccessful, and insubordination in the fortunate; that they would soon think themselves necessary to their employers, and no bounties would satisfy them or keep them contented on the estate. Of course you must suit your plans of improving the negro to his nature.

"Doubtless emancipation has done much for these people, by kindling even thus much intellectuality and enterprise. It was the first spark

to be ignited in the bosom of a degraded people, thence to spread to a general illumination. Emancipation has lifted from them the doom of an aimless existence. It has given them something of personal consequence and interest to think upon, plan about, hope and strive for. By disclosing a brighter future here, it may, and should, introduce them to a more grateful and quickening embrace of religion, the source of purer enjoyment than earth yields, and the sure hope of a better world beyond death and the grave. And it now remains for education and religion—the grand agents of human improvement in all lands and among all races of the elevating influence of which the African is eminently susceptible to apply to these people their warming and evoking energies.

* * * * *

"A few years previous to emancipation—during the administration of General Von Scholten—the Government established public free schools for blacks throughout the island; successive administrations have since fostered them with interest and care. Nine, I think, large, handsome brick edifices were erected for their accommodation. These, which do not include the public schools in town, were for the country children, and so located as to be within reach of all the plantations. The children from about twenty estates, from one to two hundred in number, are gathered daily in each for instruction. Attendance is required of every child between the ages of five and nine, three hours per day, from 9 o'clock till 12. The remainder of the day they are compelled to labour as third-class hands. After they have reached the age of nine, the teacher may select one from each estate to assist him as monitors, keeping them at school two years longer, with the right also of instructing them privately one hour extra each day. Of course he selects the aptest boys and girls, and thus they receive a pretty good common education.

"Practically the schools are under the sole direction of the Moravian Missionaries. They are managed by a Board of Commissioners. For some reason the Government constituted the United Brethren that Board, probably from their being the principal religious teachers of the country people. At present the Episcopalians are urging the authorities to give to every Christian denomination a place and influence on this Board. The Commissioners employ as teachers mainly the candidate Missionaries sent out by their Society in Germany to assist in the Missions. Most of these are young Germans who speak the language very imperfectly, and of course are not so competent to instruct as those who have the English tongue for their vernacular. In the only school, however, which I have visited, the teacher was a young Creole of 25 or 30. He was certainly a very skilful, thorough, and, from what I saw, successful teacher. He seemed heartily in love with his work and his scholars. He was married, and lived close at hand, having devoted himself and his wife to the business of teaching. She instructed the girls in needlework. I parted from these people in much admiration of them, and strongly impressed with the idea, that if what I had seen was even a tolerable specimen of the schools, they are an

element of much promise to the condition of the people.

"The branches taught are, reading, geography, and arithmetic. Every thing is conducted on the Lancasterian plan. The phonetic system of enunciation is employed in teaching them to read. They are taught mainly from large printed cards hung on forms, around which in circular classes the children stand under the direction of the teachers or monitors. They exhibited the greatest animation. The advance class read the Testament fluently. I was much interested in an extempore examination, made on my account, upon the lesson they had read in the morning. It was conducted according to 'Stow's System of Training,' and seemed calculated to quicken their faculties, cultivate their memories, and impart much general information. The subject was 'The leading of the Israelites out of Egypt by Moses.' Their knowledge of the history was drawn out by questions, and then further questions elicited their understanding of particular facts, which had been explained during the previous exercise. For instance: 'What is a miracle?' The prompt and general reply was, 'Something unusual, which only God can do.' 'What is bondage?' 'Being held as slaves;' with other questions, demonstrating the wickedness and injustice of Slavery. Thus by a long series, not only were historical facts fixed in the mind, but much awakened and a great mass of extraneous knowledge conveyed. The teacher took occasion to remind them that they, until a few years ago, were in the condition of slaves, and that it was God who had led them also out to freedom. 'And children,' said he, 'I did not tell you this morning, but do you know I thought it very singular, that the man who moved all the people of this island to rise and demand freedom, and who kept them under control till they gained it, was named Moses also?' He then hastily related to them the history of the insurrection. Moses Bourdo was the prime agent in this work. He visited most of the estates, and laid down the rules and appointed the time for the rising.

"Never did the story of Israelitish bondage so affect me as when listening to its incidents from the lips of these 'little ones' of a race of slaves scarcely yet led beyond the Red Sea of their degradation. Emotions of sadness and shame, mingled with others of pride, triumph, and majestic might, gave an indescribable expression to their faces. I felt terrified in their presence. I was awed as by the majesty of the greatest things. In their faces I beheld the first flashings of that terrible lightning of indignant wrath which will one day visit my guilty race. Their accents were to my ear the still small voice, the low murmur of a rising storm, when the Almighty shall shake terribly the earth, and array the black man against his oppressor.

"They were not questioned in arithmetic; but a lad who had left the schools followed my carriage one day, and examining him in the ground rules, I found him quite ready in mental calculations.

"The teacher told me the parents were much pleased with their children being thus educated; that the children themselves were interested; and that many who had completed their course at

the schools came from the neighbouring estates to a night school kept by him, where they were still farther advanced. They certainly shewed no unusual dullness for persons of their age, and seemed much brighter and independent than the occasional black child in our District schools at home.

"This instruction of the rising generations must be a good leaven to act on the mass of ignorance, vice, and degradation.

"In this school I witnessed one of those anomalies common among slave populations, and often met with in St. Thomas. In the crowd of boys, black as night, was a lad of the purest blonde complexion—hair, eyes, skin, features, all European—a white tulip in a bed of the deepest red ones, and yet blending with them perfectly in his feelings and sympathies. The taint of the most diluted particles of African blood was in his veins.

"As to the influence of religion, I am sorry to be compelled to say that my impressions are not as hopeful as those already expressed upon the work of education; and not only recent impressions, but those founded upon the observations and inquiries of a year and a half's residence in the West Indies. There is undoubtedly a general religion, of a formal, superficial type; but of intelligent, spiritual, personal religion, there is next to none—certainly none in the lower classes. The Gospel, as administered by its ministers, exerts a comforting influence, alas, too often giving peace when there is no peace; but its proper and designed work—education and refinement of the intellect and conscience—it does not accomplish. It is a matter of church connection and church observances, instead of the simple relation of each individual soul to God. That idea and style of religion, by long misguidance, they seem utterly incapable of. 'Following their church,' instead of following Christ in purity and freedom from guile or malice, in subjection of their whole being to the grand laws of God, constitutes their religion: they are safe by being in the church, instead of being in the favour of God, and union to Him by practical love.

"No church has been more instrumental for this state of things than the Episcopal, which, wherever it exists, even if not in the British Colonies, strives to dignify itself with the proud title of English Church.

"If the Moravians administer religion somewhat less as a matter of Churchism, their religious teaching lacks the power to educate the heart and conscience up to a voluntary conformity to the divine law. What these people need is, not commonplace sing-song homilies, but vigorous instruction in *practical religion*. They need conversion by the living power of living truth. These, in my opinion, the prevailing system of preaching, and the religious ideas inculcated, do not give them.

"I should except, however, from this general charge, the Wesleyan Missions through the English and Dutch islands, which, from what I learn, are doing a good work in the right spirit and direction.

"There is a vast amount of vice in the form of licentiousness, and there seems but an imperfect consciousness of its wickedness. Marriage is but

little known, though there is a growing desire to live that relation. Instead of that, 'living together' in a sort of concubinage prevails. This, after all, is the leading vice of these people.

"On the whole, there are grounds of improvement in their condition. Freedom put them at once in favouring conditions. To what extent, to what position of influence among the world's nations they may, or it is the design of Providence they shall rise, is in my opinion a stretch of prophecy not yet revealed to human ken.

"There is no sickly inclination manifested to return to the immunities from care and personal responsibility which the patriarchal institution boasts. They cease not to rejoice in their freedom, and to be grateful for it. I asked a woman whom I accosted a day or two since by the wayside, if she did not sometimes wish herself a slave again, to be taken care of. 'Oh, no, Massa; when me slave me have no time to work for myself; me no licked now; now when me sick me no have to work.' Alienation of personal rights, extinction of personal aims, defenceless subjection to unredressed cruelty—are not these the great wrongs of Slavery? The poor ignorant woman understood the nature of her recently acquired boon.

"E. W."

WEST-INDIA INTELLIGENCE.

SUMMARY.

We subjoin an outline of the intelligence brought over by a recent West-India Mail. Press of matter necessitated its omission in our last.

JAMAICA.—SIR HENRY BARKLY AND HIS GOVERNMENT.—"It is to be regretted," says the *Falmouth Post* of the 22d of June last, "that the administration of Sir Henry Barkly is not as popular as it was expected to be:

"Sir Henry Barkly came to Jamaica professedly with the intention of reconciling political differences: his arrival was hailed with joy; addresses of congratulation were presented to him by the authorities and inhabitants of every parish; and in making his first tour, for the purpose of seeing, hearing, and judging for himself, he was received with every demonstration of respect and esteem. Circumstances, however, have unhappily occurred to cause a change of feeling; and many who supported his views in the House of Assembly, during the Session of 1853, are now the most determined of his opponents. It is asserted—and the assertion remains uncontradicted, and is generally believed to be true—that His Excellency is influenced by unworthy feelings against the Jewish and Coloured classes: that in all the appointments he has made these feelings have been strongly evinced: and that whatever may be the claims of gentlemen, who were once legally proscribed from all appointments of honour and emolument, these claims, with very few exceptions, will be treated at the King's House with indifference and marked contempt. It is urged by the friends of Sir Henry Barkly, that, in selecting Mr. Jordon as the leading member of the Executive Committee, and in calling Mr. Richard Hill to the Council, he has afforded evidence of

the incorrectness of the charge brought against him: but on the other hand it is contended that stern necessity caused the seals of office to be presented to Mr. Jordon; and that with regard to the elevation of Mr. Hill as a Privy Councillor, the act was not one of grace, but compulsion. We have had no personal opportunity of learning whether the prejudices of the olden time have been revived at the vice-regal mansion in Spanish Town, but certainly we have noticed the unmistakeable neglect with which the classes alluded to have been treated; and, in fact, none but those who are wilfully blind can have failed to perceive that the present ruler of the island has not followed the liberal and noble-minded policy of the Earl of Belmore, Lord Mulgrave, the Marquis of Sligo, Lord Metcalfe, and the generous-hearted, but ill-used, Sir Charles Grey. Their chief object was the breaking down—the utter annihilation—of unjust distinctions. In their days no questions were asked about a man's religion or colour: talent and respectability of character, no matter by whom possessed, were recognised, appreciated, and rewarded: but now, favourites only are thought of, and these favourites are not to be found among the 'Sons of Israel,' or the 'Sons of Africa.' If, therefore, Sir Henry Barkly desires peace, he must pursue a different course of conduct to that by which his past career in the colony has been characterized; and we advise him to bear in mind the fact, that he has to deal with men who 'know their rights, and, knowing, dare maintain them.'"

A NEW MARKET FOR SUGAR.—The *Colonial Standard* gives the following interesting statement:

"The expediency of resorting to the United States as a market for our sugars has very frequently been advocated in these columns, and the time has now arrived when the sole alternative may be said to lie between new markets and general abandonment of cultivation. The policy of the British Government would seem to have been devised for the express purpose of forcing upon the British colonies the necessity of strengthening, as far as in them lies, their commercial intercourse with foreign countries, and restricting within the narrowest bounds their trade connection with the mother country. Less than two years ago the United-States Government reduced the Customs' Duties on foreign sugars, imported for consumption within the Union, from 30 to 20 per cent. Within a very short period after, in order to lay the produce of their colonies under contribution for the purposes of the war, the British Government raised the duties on the same commodity 50 per cent. upon the former tariff. The result is, that although prices generally rule in the United-States market lower than they do in England, Sugars exported to New York yield a much larger return than they can possibly do in London; and any local proprietor, who is happily free to deal with his produce as his interests dictate, will do well to bear this fact in mind.

"We have been placed in possession of some facts and figures in connection with this subject, which enable us to deal with it rather confidently. During the extreme depression of the

London Sugar Market some few months ago a small shipment of Jamaica produce was made to New York by a mercantile firm of this city. The produce was a strong-grained sugar, rather under the average quality, and was purchased in New York for refining purposes. It sold in the New-York market for five dollars per 100lbs., and netted £12 a hogshead. The same sugars at that time in London would probably not have realized above £9. Since that period, however, the market has considerably improved, in consequence of short supplies of foreign sugar, and of an ascertained falling-off in the crop of Louisiana to the extent of fully 100,000 hogsheads. It is now confidently stated that sugars of the same quality as those of which we have already written would fetch at the rate of six dollars per 100lbs., and net between £14 and £15 per hogshead in New York. This, it must be remembered, has reference to a by no means superior quality of produce. As regards the finer class of sugars, the advices state that these would command 'fancy prices.' We are happy to learn that the barque *Sir G. Seymour* has been entirely loaded with sugar for the American market, and will probably be the first vessel that has ever carried a full cargo of sugar from Jamaica to New York."

The following case of Slave rescue is taken from the correspondence of the *Falmouth Post* of the 8th of June last:

"An occurrence has taken place at Savanna le Mar, a small shipping place on the north side, which has been complained of as an outrage by some parties, and applauded as a praiseworthy action by others. It was the rescue of an American slave, employed as cook on board of a brig that came to anchor at Savanna le Mar, from some place in Maryland. The man shipped as a free man, under a false name, and was duly paid his wages for the voyage. The captain had reason to suspect, before he left America, that the cook had given a wrong name, and that he was a slave: he also found that he was a very indifferent cook, and would have willingly got rid of him at Norfolk, where he stopped, if he could have got back the wages advanced. However, he did not succeed, and arrived with the man on board at Savanna le Mar. Suspecting that he was a slave, and was anxious to get an opportunity to leave the ship and get on shore, where he might claim his liberty, he had him watched, and would never allow him to leave the ship. These circumstances by some means were made known in the town, and a party of seven black men determined to rescue their countryman; which they did openly, by going on board in the daytime, and forcibly taking the cook out of the vessel, and bringing him ashore. As soon as he was on shore he was taken before the magistrate of the town, a Mr. Thomas, before whom he made a statement of the circumstances under which he was brought to Jamaica, and claimed his liberty; which the magistrate did not hesitate to declare, as, though by his own acknowledgment a slave in Maryland, and bound to serve a certain Mr. Robertson in that State, by coming over to Jamaica, and reaching the soil of a free country,

he had become, by the English laws, free, and was at liberty to dispose of himself as he thought proper. The magistrate seems also to have approved of the rescue on the part of the boat's crew who went on board the brig. Not so the editor of the *Colonial Standard*, who is of opinion that he went beyond his authority in declaring Anderson a free man; for he had been forcibly abducted from the American territory by the negroes of Savanna le Mar, for the deck of the American brig in the harbour was to be considered American, and not British territory. He would therefore have Mr. Thompson's name expunged from the list of magistrates; and we know not whether he is not even for delivering up the unfortunate Anderson into the hands of the American captain, to conclude his service with him, and to be taken back to Maryland."

THE PLANTAIN FIBRE.—The *Watchman* reports the shipment of forty bales of Plantain Fibre. "This shews," it adds, "that somebody has been at work." Success to the attempt! We shall soon see whether Jamaica will not be able to get along without increasing her production of sugar and rum.

MADEIRA IMMIGRANTS.—The *Lady Clarke* arrived at the port of Annotto Bay on Tuesday the 22nd, in twenty-two days from Madeira, with 166 Portuguese immigrants, consigned to the Hon. Henry Westmorland; but in consequence of the refusal of this gentleman to employ 'such a description of labourers on his estates,' they had to be shipped to Kingston, where it is expected they will find employment."—*Trelawny*.

DEMERARA.—The governor, in closing the Combined Court for the Session, made the following remarks:

"I believe that we shall separate with all reasonable confidence, that the affairs of the colony can, under the continued influence of a like kindly spirit, be gradually relieved from the existing pressure, and brought into a sound and prosperous condition. And I shall look for the cordial co-operation of the Court of Policy, in giving effect, whether by ordinance or otherwise, to the suggestions made in the course of the Session, for the improved administration of the public service."

The *Royal Gazette*, in its packet Summary of the 24th of July last, has the following item of intelligence, which is similar to that given under the head of Jamaica:

"The schooner *Meteor*, which has just sailed for New York, has on board a cargo consisting of 187 hogsheads, 6 tierces, and 230 barrels of sugar, and 3 barrels of plantain fibre. And we hear that there are orders in the colony for 5000 hogsheads of sugar, of which about 2000 have already been purchased. The prices given are very satisfactory to the grower. On one plantation on the east coast a large quantity has been purchased at 14l. 19s. 6d. per hogshead, which is a much better price than the same sugar would obtain in the English markets."

TRINIDAD.—The following Petition has been sent to England for presentation:—

"To the Honorable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled—

"The humble Memorial of the undersigned Proprietors of Sugar Estates, Merchants, and others deeply interested in the prosperity of the Colony of Trinidad.

"Respectfully sheweth,—That for several years past, in consequence of the vexatious restrictions imposed upon the introduction of labourers, and the utter inability of your Memorialists to compete with Foreign Slave Sugars, the Island of Trinidad has been gradually declining in prosperity.

"Your Memorialists justly conceive they are entitled to the very liberal support of Government, and that every facility should be afforded them with respect to labour and other sources of industry.

"Your Memorialists are justified in urging the strictest observance of the Treaty with Spain for the suppression of the Slave-trade.

"Your Memorialists state that Spain connives at the importation of Slaves; a fact of which Government is cognizant, but has not yet been brought effectually to the notice of Spain.

"That labour is supplied to Cuba in British ships from the East on terms which have not been acceded to your Memorialists.

"That under these circumstances Cuba is enabled to produce Sugar at a less cost than your Memorialists; the expense of labour with whom equals 65 per cent. of the crop, and the remaining 35 per cent. is generally expended in the payment of freight and other unavoidable expenses.

"That your Memorialists have lately lost by death from cholera nearly 5000 labourers, which has materially reduced the supply of labour.

"That your Memorialists are deeply impressed with the conviction, that unless there is an addition of twenty thousand labourers within a few years, they will be barely able to maintain their present unfavourable position, and must ultimately sink under the difficulties which surround them.

"That it is of vital importance that they should receive Free Labour, unfettered by the vexatious restrictions which have hitherto been imposed upon them, and which has mainly tended to their present critical position.

"That every act which restrains them in a fair and equal competition with Foreign Slave Sugars, benefits the producer thereof; and the impression is conveyed that Free Labour cannot compete with Slave Labour, which is calculated seriously to affect the well-being and prosperity of this Colony, while at the same time it tends to strengthen the influence of Slavery.

"That very large capital is vested in the Sugar Estates, which must be ultimately lost to them unless speedy and decisive measures are adopted by Her Majesty's Government to foster the real and permanent interests of the Colony.

"That necessarily the maintenance of social order, and our very existence as a community, depend entirely upon our successful efforts to compete with Foreign Slave Sugars.

"That your Memorialists have now an additional duty to pay—a duty which there is every

reason to believe will have to be borne by the producer. They are quite ready and willing to bear their fair burthen of the expenses incurred for the present war. They conceive Her Majesty's Government should at the same time have removed all restrictions on the use of Sugar and Molasses, and permitted their refinement in bond.

"Your Memorialists therefore respectfully pray your Honorable House to take this their Memorial into your serious consideration; and your Memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c. &c. &c."

BARBADOES.—We learn from the *West Indian* of the 6th of July that the heavy rains have impeded the reaping of the crop, and to some extent reduced its amount. Up to the 28th of June the quantity of sugar shipped amounted to 29,267 hhds., 6197 puns.; of Molasses, 6197 puns., 104 hhds., 412 brls. It is expected that the crop will reach 40,000 hhds. The *West Indian* further remarks:

"The advantages possessed by the estates which have powerful mills and a good furnace have been shewn very decisively during this crop; for they have been able to make good progress, whilst the short intervals of favourable weather permitted, in the reaping of the crop, and have been less dependent upon the fickleness of the weather and the labourers, than others with inferior machinery. Horizontal mills, of large power and the best workmanship, have been erected within the last year or two on many estates, even on the small estates, where they are also found to pay the cost, if the owners are in a position to import them. A steam-mill has been erected at Newcastle, below Cliff, the machinery of which, made by McOnie of Glasgow, is of the largest size in the island, the rollers being four feet in length by thirty inches in diameter, capable of grinding canes for six or eight hogsheads a day, and looking like little tierces. The mill has been put to work the first time during this crop. There has been an improvement in the price of sugar in England, fully equivalent to the additional tax of 3s. put on by Mr. Cornwall Lewis this year; and here on the spot the price has been further stimulated by a demand for America, where it is said the crop of Louisiana has fallen short. The proposal of a free introduction into the British Provinces has also led to an improvement in the price; so that it has risen from 2½ dollars the hundredweight, which it sold for in the earlier part of the year, to 3½ and 4 dollars. Molasses, too, has got up to 16 cents the gallon, from the same causes; and there is an expectation that it will reach 20 cents. This affords some consolation to the planter, on whose prospects the year opened very gloomily. The young crop looks very promising, and except the backwardness of the estates which are still employed reaping canes, there is nothing discouraging in the agricultural condition of the island."

THE CHOLERA.—"The loss of population in the British West Indies, during the prevalence of the epidemic, could not have been far short of 50,000; that is, in the Windward and Leeward Islands about 40,000; viz.

Barbadoes	18,000
St. Vincent	4,000
Grenada	4,000
St. Lucia	5,000
Trinidad	5,000
St. Kitts, Nevis, and Tortola .	5,000

41,000

and 10,000 in Jamaica, where it committed the greatest ravages in St. Ann's and other parishes on the northside. When it is considered that the population of these colonies is about 1,000,000, the loss of 50,000, or one-twentieth part, in one year, will shew at once how severe a blow was given to their industry and prosperity in that year."—*West-India Magazine*.

GRENADA.—The *Chronicle* of the 23d of June last remarks :

"There is a great diminution in our production of the principal commodities of export, and our population has been thinned to a fearful degree: the imports for consumption have consequently decreased, and the revenue from that source thrown far below the estimated standard; while, on the other hand, the field of expenditure is enlarged, and no new channel of revenue presents itself. The revenue raised upon imports, in the three last years respectively, has been as follows: In 1852, 9638*l.*; in 1853, 8613*l.*; in 1854, 6953*l.* The total revenue, in 1852, was 17,366*l.*; in 1853, 15,038*l.*; in 1854, 15,266*l.* And the total expenditure, in 1852, 16,894*l.*; in 1853, 17,130*l.*; in 1854, 18,000*l.* So that, with an average income of 15,890*l.* a year, wrung from an impoverished population of less than 26,000 souls, the outlay has been 17,341*l.*, shewing an excess of expenditure over revenue of 1451*l.* per annum. As to the current year, which is but half run out, it is no difficult thing to foresee the adverse character of the balance-sheet that will be struck; for not only is the old scale of expenditure persisted in, but new and costly institutions and offices have been called into existence. The principal articles of produce shipped from the 1st of January to the 23d of June in 1853, 1854, and 1855, were—

SUGAR.				RUM.		COCOA.	
HHDS.	TRS.	BRLS.	PNS.	HHDS.	BAGS.		
In 1853....	3380	789	1141	....	756	58	....2800
1854....	2544	522	523	....	967	101	.... 346
1855....	1876	413	717	....	820	37	....2718

We doubt that there will be 3000 casks more of sugar shipped of this crop. A report in the Blue Book for the year 1853 shews that no less than twenty-six sugar estates have been thrown up and abandoned out of 104 in this island; and in the course of the last twelve months there have been advertised for sale or lease twenty-five valuable properties, sixteen of them large and well-found sugar estates, and the rest cocoa. These are certainly not signs that should induce the Legislature of the country to make enlarged institutions and create new offices calling for increased expenditure; and the anxious hope of the community is, that the authorities will be now awake to the absolute necessity for remodelling the exactions of the Fisc, and producing a more wholesome state of things. Our lands are fertile, plantations well established, ma-

chinery abundant and efficient, and our colonists skilful and enterprising; but we are denied fair play at the hands of the mother-country, to enable us to compete with the foreign rivals she encourages at our expense. Give us but labour, or, rather, allow us to procure it without obstructive restrictions, and prosperity will be restored. Let Great Britain but follow the example of France in her colonial relations, and she will give new life to a commerce, the glittering fruits of which might soon become an object of boast to her exchequer."

ST. VINCENT.—"The prospects for the coming crop are good, but unless a speedy revulsion in prices of produce takes place a considerable number of estates will be thrown out of cultivation. The cost of sugar is 10*l.* sterling per hogshead, and as it only brings 8*l.* in the home market, the planters must, as a matter of necessity, give up the cultivation and manufacture. Of any improvement in the home market there is no prospect whatever; indeed, the general prospect is so gloomy, that owners of estates seem desirous of getting rid of them at any price, as they do not seem disposed to try the cultivation of any thing but the cane.

"Produce exported from 1st January to 31st May: Sugar, 3074 hhds., 98 trs., 382 brls.; Molasses, 176 puns.; Rum, 573 puns.; Arrow-root, 1275 brls., 1253*½* brls., 5916 tins., 4 kegs, 12 tierces."—*Gazette*.

POSTSCRIPT.—We learn from our last Jamaica files that Sir Henry Barkly intends applying for leave of absence from his Government for a few months, and that he will depart for England immediately after the close of the approaching Sessions. Many think that, should he go, he will not return to Jamaica, seeing that his administration is daily becoming very unpopular.

THE SLAVE POWER DEFEATED.

THE BURNS RIOT.

OUR readers will probably remember that after the riots that occurred in Boston last year, on the occasion of the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law against a runaway slave of the name of Burns, Wendell Phillips, Theodore Parker, and Martin Stowell, were proceeded against for inciting the people to rebellion. The indictment against them was subsequently quashed, and the prosecution abandoned; and though we have announced the fact in a previous *Reporter*, we deem the case too important not to give a summary of the proceedings in Court.

The indictment against the parties named was for obstructing the marshal in serving legal process, and was framed under the 25th section of the Act of the 30th of April 1790.

The accused having been arraigned, submitted through counsel a motion to quash the indictment. The Court being satisfied that some of the causes assigned were proper to be discussed, allowed the counsel to

present their views on the several points; after which, Judge Curtis gave judgment in the following form:

He said: "The indictment consists of five counts. The first was the most important, and decided the rest. It alleged in substance that the defendants knowingly and willingly did obstruct, resist, and oppose the marshal of the district in serving a certain warrant or legal process, such resistance being contrary to law. To constitute an offence under the law, it was necessary to shew that the obstruction was that of legal process, and that the one in question was such within the meaning of the Act, by its emanating from some tribunal Judge or Magistrate authorised by the laws of the United States.

"What averments were necessary to shew this authority depended upon the character of the tribunal or officer from whom it came. If, as in this case, the officer who granted the process had by law only a limited and special authority dependent for its existence upon particular facts, every fact necessary to the existence of that authority must either be averred in the indictment, or appear on the face of the process set out therein.

"The first section of the Act of Congress of 1850, taken in connection with the sixth section of the same Act, conferred power to issue warrants to arrest fugitives from service, upon 'the persons who have been or may hereafter be appointed Commissioners, in virtue of any Act of Congress, by the Circuit Courts of the United States, and who in consequence of such appointment are authorised to exercise the powers that any Justice of the Peace or other Magistrate may exercise in respect to offenders for any crime or offence against the United States, by arresting, imprisoning, or bailing the same, under and by virtue of the 33rd section of the Act of 1789, entitled 'An Act to establish the Judicial Courts of the United States.'

"To have authority to issue a warrant under this Act of 1850, the person issuing it must not only be a Commissioner appointed by the Circuit Court of the United States, but a Commissioner thus appointed on whom have been conferred the powers respecting the arrest, imprisonment, and bail of the offenders, which were conferred on Justices of the Peace by the 33rd section of the Act of 1789; that is, he must have been *such* a Commissioner as is particularly described by the Act of 1850.

"Did the averment, that the person who issued the warrant was 'a Commissioner of the Circuit Court of the United States for said District,' amount, in legal intendment, to an averment that he was such a Commissioner as is particularly described by the Act of 1850?

"In this case, it was not shewn that Mr. Loring was one of those persons.

"It might be suggested, that inasmuch as the appointment of Mr. Loring emanated from that Court, and was a matter of record there, the Court might take judicial notice of the fact, that he was authorised to act as a Commissioner in arresting, imprisoning, and bailing offenders against the laws of the United States, and so that he was such a Commissioner as described in the Act of 1850. The Court supposed it to be true that Mr. Loring was such a Commissioner, and that his authority could be proved by producing the record of his appointment, but this could not affect the decision of the question under consideration. An indictment must contain every averment necessary to shew that an offence had been committed, and the want of any such averment could not be supplied by shewing that the fact thus omitted appeared on the other records of the Court.

"It was true that the objection to the indictment was technical, and there did not seem to be reason to suppose that, in this case, the absence of this averment in the indictment could be of any practical consequence to the defendant, so far as respects the substantial merits of the case. But the rules of law which prescribe the essentials of a good indictment are as binding on the Court as the Act of Congress under which the indictment is framed; and the defendant had the same right to call on the Court to give complete effect to the former, as the Government had to require the enforcement of the latter.

"For these reasons, the Court was of opinion that it did not appear by the first count that the warrant was legal process. It was also of opinion, that as neither of the counts in the indictment described, by sufficient averments, any offence under the Act of 1790, under which alone the Government claimed that the indictment could be supported, it *must be quashed.*"

Advertisements.

BOSTON ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR,

Which is held annually at the close of the year.

It serves the great purpose of drawing public attention to the question of Slavery, to the evils of which the mass of American society is, unhappily, indifferent, if not favourable. The energy exhibited by a small body of their countrymen in getting up so large a Bazaar induces some to examine into the object which has called it forth; while it is especially found that the beauty and costliness of the articles transmitted from this side the Atlantic cause others to reflect upon the character of an institution which is regarded by so many residents in England, Scotland, and

Ireland, as alike disgraceful to a republican government and a Christian community. As the opinion of the English nation exerts much influence upon the people of the United States, it is important that these sentiments should be thus significantly expressed; while, to the Abolitionists themselves, the sympathy in their holy aims and unwearied labours, evinced by the contributions of their British friends, affords a support and comfort which they need as much as they deserve.

The proceeds of the Boston Bazaar are principally devoted to sustaining the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, a weekly newspaper, conducted with much ability, which furnishes complete details of the Abolition movement, and is the organ of the *American Anti-Slavery Society*.

Whoever is desirous to promote the efforts of the Abolitionists may efficiently do so by forwarding to any of the friends mentioned below any articles which they may think suitable. The price should be affixed to each contribution, and, if not objected to, the name and residence of the donor.

Donations in money will be laid out in such articles of British and French manufacture as are known to be most saleable at Boston.

After each annual sale a *Gazette* is published, and widely circulated among contributors, giving details of the bazaar, describing the articles sold, particularizing those that were most attractive, and specially acknowledging all money donations.

The following ladies will undertake to forward to Boston any contributions received by them, not later in the year than the beginning of October Contributions will be received in Edinburgh till the 1st of November.

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Mrs. Cotteral

Belfast, Miss Ireland, Royal Institution
Birkenhead (Cheshire), Mrs. O'Brian
Birmingham, Mrs. Harry Hunt, Edgbaston
Bolton (Lanc.), Miss Jane Abbott

Bridgewater, Miss Browne
Bristol, Mrs. H. Thomas, 2, Great George-street
Chelmsford, Miss A. Knight

Mrs. Johns
Cheltenham, Mrs. Furber
Cork, The Misses Jennings
Crew (Cheshire), Mrs. N. Worsdell
Dublin, Mrs. Edmonson, 35 Capel-street

Mrs. R. D. Webb, 176 Great Brunswick-street

Edinburgh, Mrs. J. Wigham, 5 Grey-street
Mrs. D. M'Laren, Newington-house
Miss Black, 38 Drummond-place
Mrs. Alexander 4, St. Vincent-street
Mrs. Berry, Rosefield-cottage, Portobello

Evesham, The Misses Davis
Glasgow, Miss Paton
Gloucester, Miss Russell, Wotton-lodge
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Mrs. Reid, 21 York-terrace, Regent's park

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Manchester, Miss Whitelegge, Abercrombie-place
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